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ARCHBISHOP ADELARD LANGEVIN AND THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION 1895 - 1915

by

STEPHEN THADDEUS RUSAK

A THESIS
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled ARCHBISHOP ADELARD LANGEVIN AND THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION, 1895 - 1915 submitted by STEPHEN THADDEUS RUSAK in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

It is a commonplace of Canadian history that the Manitoba school question was settled in 1896 after the Laurier government came to power. This study shows that the question was not settled at that time, that it is alive and well and agitating Manitoba to our own day. The reason it was not allowed to die was that Louis-Philippe-Adélard Langevin kept the question in the forefront of his ministry during his episcopate as Archbishop of St. Boniface from 1895 to 1915.

Langevin was appalled that the first French-Canadian Prime Minister of Canada, Wilfrid Laurier, would sacrifice his compatriots in Western Canada for political motives. He never forgave him for what Langevin considered a lack of principle and a steadfast refusal to pressure federal and provincial politicians to restore French and Catholic rights in the west. Laurier tried to have the archbishop removed from his office, or at least transferred because he pestered Ottawa continously, and remained a constant threat to the Liberal government. It may well be that the constant pressure that the archbishop applied resulted in a far better accommodation for Catholic schools in Alberta and Saskatchewan when these provinces were erected in 1905. Langevin allied himself with Henri Bourassa, who effectively scuttled Liberal hopes for re-election in 1911, at least in Quebec. The Manitoba school question was a minor factor in that defeat.

This study also shows the very close political and personal relationship developed over fifteen years between the Premier of Manitoba, Rodmond Roblin and the archbishop. As a Conservative, Roblin supported Langevin against Laurier; the premier deftly manipulated their mutual friendship for the advantage of the Conservative party, especially in Manitoba. Langevin

seconded Roblin in all his activity to challenge and eventually bring down the federal Liberal administration. In recompense the archbishop received a relatively free hand to run Catholic education as he saw fit in rural Manitoba. In urban areas however, particularly Winnipeg, the two higher levels of government could not work out any accommodation which would allow Catholics to be educated in publicly financed schools.

Langevin's limited reserves of energy were deflected by at least three more factors in his attempts to anchor firmly the "French fact" in Manitoba and Western Canada: immigrants, Irish Catholics, and the Canadian Catholic hierarchy, especially the apostolic delegates. Langevin used Catholic schools to promote a multi-lingual, multi-cultural identity for the west and thereby rejected anglicization for the immigrant population. The Irish Catholics supported anglicization and pressed for the removal of the archbishop. Langevin countered by having only French-Canadian bishops appointed to Western Canadian sees. The apostolic delegates to Canada barely tolerated the archbishop; he was abrasive, determined, volatile - and a martyr to some, if not most, French Canadians. Langevin accused the delegates of playing into the hands of the politicians and the delegates responded by ordering him to remain silent on politically charged questions - above all Manitoba's schools. When Archbishop Langevin died in 1915, the position of French Catholics in Manitoba was better than it was in 1896. By challenging both state politicians and church hierarchy he had made the Manitoba school question a permanent fact of Canadian history, a question unresolved to the present day.

> Important negotiations should never be interrupted for a moment. It is necessary to pursue what one has undertaken with an endless program of action so ordered that one never ceases to act intelligently and resourcefully, becoming neither indifferent, vacillating, nor irresolute. It is also necessary not to be discouraged by a bad turn of events....
>
> Cardinal Richelieu: Political Testament

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE	Actes Episcopaux
C	Correspondance
DA	Délégué Apostolique
DH	Documents Historiques
JQ	Journal Quotidien
LB	Letter Book
MCE	Manitoba Correspondance: Education
MCPM	Manitoba Correspondance: Premier Ministre
MLNP	Mgr. Langevin: Notes Personelles
OCPM	Ottawa Correspondance: Premier Ministre
QS	Questions Scolaires

The above list pertains to the files and letterbooks in the Archives of the Archbishop of St. Boniface, Manitoba.

NOTATION

Where the notation, "Carrière file" appears, it refers to correspondence made available for this study by R.P. Gaston Carrière, Archiviste, of the Archives Deschâtelets, Ottawa. Bishop Charlebois' letterbooks are also found in the Archives Deschâtelets and are designated LB in this study.

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to discover and examine the role played by Adélard Langevin, Archbishop of St. Boniface, in the controversy surrounding the Manitoba school question during his episcopate from 1895 to 1915.

The archbishop had extensive influence with members of the federal and provincial governments in formulating educational policy in Manitoba. This study attempts to gauge the effect of that influence, as well as to show how the Manitoba provincial rights "movement" helped undermine the efforts of the Roman Catholic church in the achievement of its goals. The study shows how the Catholic church's control of education and the ultramontane, theocratic attitude that existed in Quebec, where Langevin was raised, influenced his educational policy in Manitoba. Since the archbishop did differ significantly from other Roman Catholic clergy, the study analyses the nature of the difference and notes its effects on the school question.

Because Archbishop Langevin was a member of the French Catholic minority in Manitoba that was under attack by an English Protestant majority, it is important to understand his convictions on the relationship which he thought should exist between the two "races." This study outlines those convictions and the ways in which they were affected by the influx of immigrants from Europe and America after 1896, as well as the archbishop's response to the challenge of providing schools and education for the newcomers populating the west.

It also demonstrates that the archbishop was an individualist whose character and modus operandi placed their unique imprint on developments contributing to the complexity of the Manitoba school question.

Church-state relations with respect to education in Manitoba during Archbishop Langevin's episcopate are at the core of this study. Events leading up to the time when the archbishop took possession of his see are outlined. Only the Manitoba school question is discussed and Langevin's participation in other school controversies is omitted unless they serve to illuminate some problem relative to the main issue. Also, Langevin's concern with purely religious functions stemming from his archiepiscopal ministry is not examined unless it impinges on the school question, and no overall assessment of parochial school education in Manitoba as a result of the 1896 federal-provincial compromise is made. However, the efforts of the Catholic hierarchy and laity of the province to erect a viable system without state support are considered.

Need for the Study

There is an ever-growing literature on the Manitoba school question yet there is no single work that adequately surveys all the important aspects relative to the problem. One reason for this deficiency is the lack of a comprehensive study of one of the principal protagonists in the controversy, namely, Archbishop Langevin. It is true that there are two biographies that provide a general view of the archbishop and his times, but both suffer from the same limitation - the authors themselves were involved in the controversy. Far from attempting an objective assessment, they sought to use the archbishop as a vehicle to propound their own politico-religious views.

Relations between church and state in Canada are usually interesting and provocative topics of study. With regard to the Manitoba school question historians are generally agreed that relations between the two camps were strained to the limit. The issue at hand was education but the currents of antagonism welled from greater depths. Archbishop Langevin embodied the beliefs and tenets of French-Canadian culture and acted accordingly. A study of his values and his participation in the controversy therefore sheds considerable light not only on the prelate himself but also on the times in which he lived.

Sources of Data

The chief source of data for this study is Adélard Langevin's correspondence in the files and letterbooks in the Archbishop's Archives, St. Boniface, Manitoba. The Rodmond Roblin papers and the John S. Ewart papers are located in the Public Archives of Manitoba, but there are few references to Archbishop Langevin in their correspondence. The Laurier papers in the Public Archives of Canada contain several letters between the prime minister and the archbishop, but the St. Boniface archives are more complete in this regard. The letters of Mgr. Ovide Charlebois of Keewatin are available in the Archives Deschâtelets, Ottawa. However, the correspondence between Canada's several apostolic delegates and the Vatican is still not available. The Vatican Secretary of State has not released this correspondence for examination by scholars at this time. The letters of Mgr. Emile Legal in the Archbishop's Archives in Edmonton were also consulted.

Some general information about the conditions in Manitoba, especially about the Catholic church, immigrants, and education, was garnered from interviews with Rev. A. Sylla and Rev. S. Baderski, members of the Oblate Order, who lived in Western Canada during the period of this study. Rev. Baderski is the son of Inspector John Baderski, who played a prominent role in organizing school districts among the immigrants in Manitoba, and who proposed the first "Galician" normal school for the province.

Review of Related Literature

There are two biographies of Archbishop Langevin, both in French, one written by a Canadian, Rev. A.-G. Morice, the other by a Frenchman, Arthur Savaète, and both published within a very short time after the archbishop's death in 1915. Father Morice was in close contact with the archbishop throughout his episcopate and produced his Vie de Mgr. Langevin[1] on the basis of personal knowledge and limited access to the episcopal correspondence. After publication several criticisms were expressed in Les Cloches de St. Boniface[2] about his book and Morice published a rebuttal entitled Zoilus Redivivus ou Un Critique Critiqué,[3] in which he argued that his account was not a history of Mgr. Langevin and his times but a readable biography along the lines that the archbishop himself had proposed for a Life of Archbishop Taché.[4] To the charge that he had inadequately documented his work, Morice replied that he had seen between 600 and 700 private letters, which he considered sufficient for his purposes.

Arthur Savaète's life of the archbishop was entitled simply

Mgr. Adélard Langevin.[5] Savaète compiled his tome in the same way as Morice, but his style is more polemical in championing the Catholic cause in Manitoba. He reproduced many of the letters that the archbishop had sent him, for they had corresponded from time to time and perhaps had met during Langevin's frequent visits to Europe. Soon after the archbishop died Savaète recalled how a letter from Winnipeg noted that his series in Voix Canadiennes would be incomplete without a life of Archbishop Langevin: "This suggestion didn't offend me: the bereaved Archbishop of St. Boniface had interested me for some time; his works were worthy, his person, attractive; he was a zealous apostle and a generous spirit who offered me his friendship." Savaète also made reference to the archbishop in Ecoles du Nord-Ouest Canadien,[7] which was completed in Langevin's lifetime.

In the late 1940s Rev. L. Groulx published several extracts from Langevin's correspondence in the Revue d'Histoire de l'Amerique Française.[8] There were two findings of note: the first was Rev. D.C. Gonthier's conspiracy theory, which T. Charland incorporated in his study of the papal encyclical Affari vos;[9] the second was the correspondence with Colonel Audet.[10] According to Groulx, Audet served as intermediary between the political authorities in Ottawa and Langevin's see in St. Boniface. W.T. Shaw used the archbishop's letters, concentrating on the 1890-96 period, to discover his relationship with John S. Ewart.[11] Laurier LaPierre's study of Israel Tarte[12] contains many references to Langevin derived from their correspondence and Paul Crunican's dissertation on the Manitoba school question employs extensive reference to Langevin, particularly during the first two years of his episcopate.[13]

Crunican's study of the Lacombe-Langevin correspondence in 1895-96 is well done.[14] Langevin's role in the Territorial school question to 1905 has been extensively researched by M.R. Lupul, who relied very heavily on source material in the archiepiscopal archives at St. Boniface.[15] Many have written about the school question and Archbishop Langevin's role in it, relying solely on secondary sources. W.B. Ready's work on "The Political Implications of the Manitoba School Question 1896-1916"[16] relies almost entirely on Morice's Vie de Mgr. Langevin.

General works on the Manitoba school question have been written by Clark,[17] Wade,[18] Ewart,[19] and Kribs.[20] The last three authors wrote while the question was before parliament and sided either with the French and Catholic minority or with the province, arguing the merits of the case from their own point of view. Clark has edited a study relying on the published sources and, as the only recent (1968) study of the events between 1890-96 favours the minority. Significantly, he dedicated his book to John S. Ewart, who, along with Edward Blake, were the barristers who ably defended Catholic legal rights before the Canadian and imperial courts.

Specific legal aspects of the Manitoba school question as well as a general overview of the formal administrative structure of education in the province have been studied by Bergen,[21] Carter,[22] Fenske,[23] Glinz,[24] Kennedy,[25] Moore,[26] Schmeiser,[27] Sissons,[28] and Weir,[29] among others. Moore concluded that the disadvantages of centralization begun in 1890 outweighed the advantages accruing therefrom. Using the Advisory Board, which was to regulate the academic side of provincial education, as an example of a centralizing factor, he asserted that it became entrenched, then bureaucratic and irresponsible.[30] On the other hand, Sissons believed that centralization of educational administration was a positive force under the circumstances, given the fact of the waves of immigrants flooding Canada prior to the first World War.[31] On another aspect of school law, namely section 93 of the British North America Act, Kennedy's analysis led to the conclusion that the power of the provincial government to legislate for education was "nominal."[32] Sissons brief but trenchant study of the same section led him to advocate scrapping the entire section, leaving education the exclusive prerogative of the province.[33] In reviewing the decision of the Imperial Privy Council in the Barrett case, Schmeiser commented that it was "probably the most extreme example of judicial amendment of the Canadian Constitution" and that the "antipathy of the Privy Council towards separate schools weighed heavily on the result."[34]

Biographical information on the principals in this dissertation is readily available. Studies have been made of Borden,[35] Bourassa,[36] Charlebois,[37] Laurier,[38] Sifton,[39] Roblin,[40] and Dafoe,[41] the most numerous being of Wilfrid Laurier. For the purposes of this dissertation three biographies of the prime minister, those by Skelton, Dafoe, and Tanghe, have been selected; Tanghe's is the only recent one written by a French Canadian. Understanding the relationship between Laurier and Langevin is very important because throughout Laurier's term in office the Archbishop of St. Boniface was one of his constant concerns, a fact not apparent in the works of the prime minister's biographers. Rodmond Roblin's biographer, H.R. Ross, inexplicably overlooked the very close relationship, political and personal, that developed between the premier and the archbishop and the latter is not mentioned in the book. Donnelly's biography of Dafoe makes only one reference to Langevin although Dafoe's Manitoba Free Press took every opportunity to attack the archbishop and allowed its columns to be frequently used against him.

The bilingual issue between French and English, which was later expanded to include German, Icelandic, Polish, and Ukrainian, has been examined by Groulx,[42] Sissons,[43] and Bilash.[44] While the bilingual question was important during the period under consideration, the larger political questions have taken the spotlight. Accordingly, the works of Martin,[45] Morton,[46] and to a greater degree Clague[47] and Turenne[48] are more pertinent to this study. One notes also L.C. Clark's history of the Conservative administration between 1891-96, outlining the deteriorating relationship within the Catholic-Orange coalition (so skilfully manipulated by John A. Macdonald during his long term in Ottawa) as a precondition for Laurier's victory in 1896.[49]

A general overview of the history of Manitoba is provided by W.L. Morton.[50] One question that provokes controversy about the period between 1870 and 1890 is whether there was sufficient agitation at the time against separate schools to account for the radical changes in the school law of 1890. Morton declared that "the time was ripe for the raising of the School Question in Manitoba in 1889."[51] In this view, he followed the path outlined by Wade[52] and Martin[53] and subsequently taken by Lupul[54] and Miller.[55] Others like Ewart,[56] Skelton,[57] Clague,[58] and Moore[59] hold that there is insufficient evidence to account for the changes made in 1890. The question is unresolved.

An understanding of the relations between church and state in Canada has been provided through the basic documents amassed by John S. Moir.[60] Unfortunately, the study terminates in 1867. There are two works that analyse French-Canadian ultramontanism in depth, one by Robert Sargent and the other by H.L. Robertson. Sargent's thesis, "The Thought of Monseigneur Louis-Adolphe Paquet As A Spokesman For French Canadian Ultramontanism," relies heavily on Robertson while at the same time it develops a more comprehensive understanding of what ultramontanism meant in the Canadian context.[61] One chapter of the work is devoted to the relationship between church and state in education. The evolution of the Catholic theory of church-state relationships is presented in Thomas Love's John Courtney Murray: Contemporary Church-State Theory.[62] Murray had demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Catholic church that rights reside in men, not in concepts. Men who hold concepts should not merely be tolerated but have the right to hold and propagate their convictions in any legitimate way. This freedom pertains to any state and particularly to a Catholic state.

The thought of the Catholic church about education is well illustrated through the selections found in Education: Papal Teachings compiled by the Benedictine Monks of Solesmes.[63] Official pronouncements and definitive statements of doctrine are found in the Acta Sanctae Sedis,[64] the Acta Apostolicae Sedis,[65] and the Enchiridion Symbolorum.[66] In the book entitled Church and State in Canadian Education, C.B. Sissons argued that the separate school, which has been predominantly Catholic in the past, has not had a beneficial influence on Canadian education or Canadian society.[67] Canadian historians of education such as Phillips[68] and Adams[69] would concur; Johnson[70] is non-committal.

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59. See footnote 26.

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CHAPTER I

THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION TO 1896

Archbishop Adélard Langevin: A Brief Biography

Louis-Philippe-Adélard-Langevin was born in St. Isidore, Quebec in 1855, and was educated in the Collège de Montréal and the Grand Seminaire de Québec. He joined the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in 1881 and was ordained to the priesthood the next year. He spent the next three years as a retreat master and preacher in Montreal until his appointment to the chair of theology at the University of Ottawa, in which capacity he taught moral theology, rhetoric, and ecclesiastical history. He was also appointed director of the Grand Seminaire d'Ottawa. In 1890 he travelled throughout Western Europe and in 1893 left Ottawa for Manitoba where he became Vicar of Missions. Archbishop Taché of St. Boniface had recommended Langevin as his coadjutor but Langevin simply retained his position as the "représentant immédiate du Supérieur Général des Oblats pour toutes les maisons et residences que ces religieux possédaient dans le diocèse de Mgr. Taché."[1] Langevin immediately undertook the study of English, which he found to be "une de mes grosses croix."[2] Mgr. Taché died on June 22, 1894, and Adélard Langevin was elevated to the episcopacy on January 2, 1895, and consecrated March 19, 1895. The inscription he chose for his ecclesiastical coat of arms was Depositum custodi.[3]

Mgr. Taché had wanted Langevin as his successor for some time but he was reluctant to accept the position: "Il eut voulu voir cette charge tomber sur d'autres épaules que les siennes, d'autant plus que la terrible question des écoles manitobaines... venait d'entrer dans une phase des plus décourageantes."[4] By 1895, the Manitoba school question had been fought at every judicial level in Canada and before the Imperial Privy Council. A decision of the latter early in 1895 thrust the issue into the political arena. From Archbishop Langevin's perspective, he was about to become the centre of a hurricane of unrestrained debate and political manoeuvering that could not fail but test his fortitude to its limit.

Quebec, Canada, and Education after 1850

The mind of the archbishop had been formed in the clerical atmosphere prevailing in Quebec during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, while holding the chair of theology in Ottawa he was an influential exponent of the ideas deeply embedded in French-Canadian society. Some of the educational ideas of the time are expounded in Mgr. Paquet's l'Eglise et l'Education:

1. Parents have a direct and immediate right in the natural order over the education of their children.
2. The monopoly, that is to say, the exclusive right of the state over education, is contrary to natural rights.
3. Free education begun by the state should be rejected absolutely for three reasons:
    a) since the school must be supported by taxes, free education is deceptive; it is not free;
    b) since the poor as well as the rich must pay taxes, free education breeds injustice;

c) since parents do not pay the sums necessary for the education of their children directly and the children lose the opportunity to show their gratitude (which would signify that the poor could not develop a family spirit!), free education destroys family cohesion.

4. Compulsory education must be rejected because it is contrary to parental rights and leads to socialism.

5. The neutral school must be rejected as the worst possible type since it violates parental and children's rights and leads to the worst evils.[5]

The place held by the clergy in Canadian society assured that these ideas would be transmitted to and strongly held by the majority of the educated elite of the time. The fact that the bishops of Quebec controlled Catholic education after 1875 through their participation on the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction was clearly indicative of their growing influence in education.[6] The suppression of l'Institut Canadien, the Programme Catholique of 1871, and the joint pastoral of the bishops of the province in 1875 attested to the public power the Catholic hierarchy was assuming. Protestants in Canada became annoyed, even antagonistic, in 1885 when Louis Riel, whom they had condemned as a murderer and revolutionary, was buried in the graveyard of St. Boniface Cathedral with the full rites of the Roman Catholic church. Relations between French and English reached the breaking point after the hotly contested debates over the Jesuit Estates Bill of 1888.

When the Premier of Quebec, Honoré Mercier, invited the papacy to settle the disbursement of funds accruing from the Jesuit estates, Protestant Canadians charged a foreign power with interference in Canada's internal affairs. Following the publication of the Syllabus of Errors in 1864 and the proclamation of the doctrine of papal infallibility in 1870, the papacy's seeming intrusion into Canadian affairs in 1888 deeply affronted non-Catholic sensibilities. In colonial Canada antagonism towards the Catholic church was increasing, whereas in Imperial Britain animosity towards the same church was declining, although in 1891, it was still sufficiently strong to have an Anglican prelate condemned for practicing a ritual too closely akin to the Roman style.[7] The attachment of the Canadian clergy to the persecuted yet renascent Roman Catholic church fostered an ultramontanism that cemented the close ties between Rome and Quebec and confirmed suspicions among Protestants in Canada.

Canadian Catholic politicians were hard pressed to clear their reputations of the charge of subservience to their clergy. Wilfrid Laurier's public disavowal in 1877 of undue influence by French-Canadian churchmen and his declaration of faith in "political liberalism" earned him the antagonism of the Catholic clergy and their subsequent opposition to his political goals. But in the eyes of English Canadians it was a declaration of independence and worthy of their trust sufficient to make him Liberal party leader in 1888. Laurier seemed to espouse the kind of English Liberalism expounded by Joseph Chamberlain in 1870: "The object of the Liberal party in England, throughout the continent of Europe and America has been to wrest the education of the young out of the hands of the priests, to whatever denomination they might belong."[8]

School Law in Manitoba to 1890

The Conservative party was in power at Ottawa when the province of Manitoba was created in 1870, the first province established since the confederation of Canada in 1867. Incorporated in the Manitoba Act was a clause that allowed denominational schools, Protestant or Roman Catholic. Because of the turmoil generated in New Brunswick over which rights existed by law in the province at the union, the framers of the Manitoba legislation saw fit to include all school rights and privileges guaranteed by law *and sanctioned by practice* in the territory that became the new province. In other respects, the Manitoba school law was identical to section 93 of the British North America Act, save for the subsection that pertained to Ontario and Quebec. While section 22 of the Manitoba Act ensured a denominational system of education, section 23 gave prominence to the official use of the French language in the province. These two provisions reflected the duality in religion and language extant in Manitoba at the time.

In 1871 the Manitoba legislature enacted a school law that created a Board of Education consisting of a Catholic and Protestant section, each responsible for its own schools. An adherent of one group was not obliged to support a school belonging to the other denomination. Since the population of Manitoba was small (approximately 12,000 inhabitants) and dispersed in homogeneous communities, the possibility of friction over local schools seemed remote. After the law was enacted, twenty-four school districts were established, twelve French Catholic and twelve English Protestant. The three-man local board of trustees elected in each district was responsible for the disbursement of the government grant and for raising monies locally for school support.[9] Only minor changes were made in the system created in 1871, until an entirely different school regime was instituted in 1890.

In 1873 separate schools were introduced: "The religion of the majority of ratepayers in any School District shall determine the designation of the District as Protestant or Roman Catholic and any School dissenting from this shall be termed a Separate School."[10] In 1875 the Catholic representation on the general Board of Education was reduced but it did not materially affect sectional control of education. Teacher education was made the responsibility of each section of the board, and normal schools were legally established in 1882. The language used in the school was never an issue, and compulsory attendance laws were never enacted. There were instances when voices were raised against the system of education but these were of little consequence causing a temporary local flurry of excitement only to recede and disappear.

In the intervening years, however, an influx of settlers into Manitoba, mainly from Ontario, changed the demographic complexion of the province entirely. The boundaries were enlarged in 1881 to accommodate the influx and by 1891 the census recorded 152,506 inhabitants. By the latter date the French-speaking element was about 7 per cent of the total population while the Catholic element, both French and English, was perhaps 15 per cent. From a position of equality the French Catholic element had been reduced to a small minority.[11]

Section 93 Before the Courts

In 1890 the school system was radically restructured and gave rise to the Manitoba school question: the government of Manitoba enacted laws that made English the official language of the province, created a "non-sectarian" school system, and abolished the Board of Education with its dual sections. The new school legislation was to a large extent based on Ontario school law minus the provision for separate schools. It reflected the English Protestant complexion of both provinces.[12] There are several reasons why the provincial government enacted the controversial legislation. Fear of political Catholicism after the passage of the Jesuit Estates Act of 1888 inflamed Protestants against Catholics. The provincial Liberal government, too, hoped the new school act would divert public attention from its failure to reduce freight rates - a promise made in its election platform of 1888. Among some pioneer settlers there was resentment in having to support a dual educational system, although the Protestants and Catholics were effectively segregated in their own communities. There was also a feeling in English-speaking settlements that a system of "national" schools with a uniform curriculum would create Canadians without the objectional connotation of dual nationality.[13] Although the *Manitoba Free Press* championed a secular school system, this particular educational philosophy was not widespread in Manitoba at the time.[14]

Sensitive to the charge that it had received a disproportionate share of government grants, Archbishop Taché directed the Catholic section of the board to surrender a sum of money close to $14,000 to Premier Greenway's government.[15] In the legislature during debates on the proposed legislative changes, Attorney-General Clifford Sifton emerged as a strong opponent of separate and denominational schools. He contended that the separate school system

> was practically an alliance between a particular church and the state, and detrimental to the rights of other denominations.... Universal education was necessary to the State for its own preservation... from his reading and observation he believed it [the separate school system] tended to increase the political power of the priesthood.... What was opposing the bill in the House was the educational policy of the Roman Catholic church.[16]

When the school act was passed, Archbishop Taché petitioned the federal government for disallowance but was counselled by Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald to take the case to the courts, where restitution was certain. Taché took his advice but maintained close surveillance over the Catholic challenge to the legality of the act.

The Catholic case before the court was handled by the firm of Ewart and Fisher. John S. Ewart, a Presbyterian, became the outspoken defender of the liberty of Catholics, especially against Rev. George Bryce, an influential Presbyterian clergyman of Winnipeg, whom he accused of being "one of the bitterest opponents of separate schools."[17] John Barrett of Winnipeg initiated court action by contesting the right of the city of Winnipeg to pass a by-law taxing residents for public schools on the grounds that Roman Catholic educational rights were being disregarded and that the guarantees granted by the school clauses of the Manitoba Act were being prejudicially affected. The action was dismissed; an appeal to the Manitoba superior court was likewise dismissed. A further appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada reversed the decision of the Manitoba court and declared the legislation *ultra vires*. In this first test of section 93 of the British North America Act, the initial judicial response to the province was to confirm exclusive provincial jurisdiction over education. The Supreme Court of Canada, however, affirmed the right of Catholics "to have their children taught according to the rules of their church."[18]

The Logan case followed on the heels of the Supreme Court decision, to gain for Anglicans the same school privileges accorded Roman Catholics. In *Logan vs. City of Winnipeg* the Manitoba superior court held that the rights and privileges of members of the Church of England had been prejudicially affected; consequently the Manitoba Public Schools Act, 1890, was *ultra vires*. Both the Barrett and Logan cases were heard at the same time by the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council, which in the *City of Winnipeg vs. Barrett* reversed the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada, and in the *City of Winnipeg vs. Logan* reversed the judgement of the Manitoba superior court. Thus the public schools act was *intra vires* of the Manitoba legislature. The Privy Council reasoned:

> In their Lordship's opinion, it would be going much too far to hold that the establishment of a national system of education upon an unsectarian basis is so inconsistent with the right to set up and maintain denominational schools that the two things cannot exist together, or that the existence of the one necessarily implies or involves immunity from taxation for the purpose of the other.[19]

The dismayed minority invoked section 22(2) of the Manitoba Act and appealed to the federal government to provide a remedy. Another round of litigation followed, and in 1893 the federal government, after hearing arguments by Ewart and Dalton McCarthy, asked the Supreme Court of Canada to decide whether the federal government was obliged to act on the minorities' appeal.[20] Late in February 1894, the court ruled by a three to two majority that the Governor-General in Council was not obliged to pass remedial legislation. In _Brophy and Others vs. the Attorney-General of Manitoba_ the case was referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which reversed the decision of the Canadian Supreme Court, and declared an appeal in order. The Supreme Court of Canada had been twice overruled by the Imperial Privy Council in interpreting school law for Canadians.

Adélard Langevin: His Observations

Adélard Langevin arrived in Manitoba in 1893 in the midst of the legal battle over separate schools. He was not impressed with the manner in which the federal Conservative party was handling the case and observed in a private communication, "It may be necessary to form a real Conservative party putting on the top of its program:

Justice to minorities - Two languages - Separate schools."[21] Again, in December 1893, he castigated the Ottawa Conservatives, accusing them of evasion: "A government which does not protest the weak has no reason to exist."[22] He evinced deep distrust, even scorn, for the Liberal party, especially its Quebec wing.[23] Although Archbishop Taché had spearheaded opposition among French Catholics in Manitoba, he was now an old man in declining health, much admired by Langevin:

> Quel géant!
> Quel grand évêque!
> Quel grand patriot!
> Quel intelligence d'élite![24]

"Hominem Non Habeo!" Langevin cried. His insistence on a saviour to lead the French-Cnadian nation was a recurring theme during the time when controversy on the school question was approaching its zenith. "Where is the man who is going to save us?" he pleaded in 1894. And in December 1895, in anguish over the course of events, he despaired: "My country, my country! For the first time in history, you can't even find a man."[25]

The Remedial Order: Father Lacombe

By 1895, the school question in Manitoba had run its course through the courts and had been propelled into the political arena. Individuals, groups, organizations, and parties had expended much energy since 1890 trying to reconcile the harsh and divisive reality that proscription of the French language and the abolition of separate schols had caused. Voices were being raised across the country suggesting ways and means of restoring rights, ameliorating grievances, assuaging wounds, and reconciling factions, but the question remained unresolved. Resting now in the public forum, it awaited a champion to pick up the gauntlet.

Tension had built to such a degree that the lieutenant-governor of Manitoba advised the premier to seek Crown-colony status within the British Empire rather than accept a solution he did not favour.[26] Nevertheless, on March 21, 1895, a federal order-in-council was issued requiring the province of Manitoba to restore the rights previously held by the Roman Catholic minority within its borders. Archbishop Langevin asked Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the opposition, to support the legislation and intervene actively to assure Liberal party compliance with it. Laurier countered that the order was ambiguous, although he conceded the right of the federal government to intervene and predicted that remedial legislation would eventually be introduced.[27] Conservative strategists, however, manoeuvred to gain

Catholic ecclesiastical support by stressing to the archbishop the need for collective action, thereby averting needless delay, which could only help the Liberal party.[28]

The remedial order requested the Manitoba government to restore the Catholic schools to the state in which they had existed before 1890, allow the separate schools to share proportionately in provincial grants, and exempt separate school supporters from taxation for other schools.[29] The reply was a polite "no"; the Manitoba government would not be coerced to carry out the order until a "full and deliberate investigation" was made.[30] Remedial legislation was immediately rumoured about Ottawa and Conservative ranks seemed to close, especially after Joseph Martin, Attorney-General of Manitoba in 1890, publicly admitted that Manitoba's national schools were in fact Protestant.[31] Archbishop Cleary of Kingston informed Langevin that the bill would be introduced within a week, according to John Costigan, Minister of Fisheries.[32] Langevin redoubled his efforts foreseeing the restoration of schools on the Quebec model and discarded any consideration of the Ontario system.[33] The Conservatives, however, decided against immediate action, arguing that there was insufficient time to perfect legislation on such an "important and intricate" question during the remainder of the session.[34] This decision precipitated a crisis and three Conservative M.P.s rebelled: A.R. Angers resigned while Sir A. Caron and J.A. Ouimet could be restrained only by firm promises that legislation would be introduced when parliament reconvened on January 2, 1896. Caron justified his return to the political fold on the grounds that the school question would have been "relegated to oblivion for years to come" had he not reconsidered.[35]

Late in 1895, at Caron's bidding, Langevin used his influence to gain the nomination of Sir W. Hingston in the riding of Montreal Centre, as the federal Conservative party could not risk any loss in a by-election, especially in Quebec where such a loss might indicate that French Canadians were no longer interested in the school question.[36] Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper was also warned that "a nominal settlement would be worse than a flat denial of justice," should his party continue to slacken its support. Tupper informed Langevin that the Conservatives had lost by-elections in Nova Scotia and Ontario ridings with a large Catholic vote and that the desertion of Catholics from the cabinet had weakened his position in Quebec.[37] Laurier kept insisting that the facts of the case had to be determined, and in his public appearances in the autumn of 1895 proposed the "sunny ways" of reconciliation: "The hand must be firm and the touch must be soft; hitherto, the touch has been rude and the hand has been weak."[38] In its reply to the federal government on December 20, however, the Manitoba government conceded that the facts were already well known and the issue defined very clearly. In challenging the exercise of federal power, it claimed that the question was "purely a matter of statemanship, to be decided in the last resort by the people of Canada." Nevertheless, it again invited a "proper" inquiry and charged that the governor-general's advisers had "declared their policy without investigation."[39] Even before the Manitoba government had replied to the federal Conservatives, Langevin had decided to send Father Lacombe east "to go and see our Rev. Brothers of the Hierarchy," and act as his personal representative in the negotiations that would certainly follow.[40]

Father Lacombe was "vraiment confus" by the warmth of the reception he received and the unanimous support manifested by the English bishops, especially Cleary of Kingston and Walsh of Toronto. But the scope of the conflict was soon readily evident to him: Real Angers criticized the federal Conservatives in Quebec charging that the party had no real intention of restoring Catholic rights, and on December 14 Clarke Wallace, Minister of Customs, resigned from Prime Minister Sir Mackenzie Bowell's government.[41] On December 18, Archbishop Langevin's mother died and he made arrangements to leave for the east. His preparations for departure were noted by Caron, who confided that the federal Conservatives had become uneasy: "your absence during the Greenway election might be misinterpreted."[42] Lacombe reported he had noted some opposition from Mgr. Emard of Valleyfield but that his conversation with Angers had elicited positive support for the remedial bill.[43]

Lacombe became thoroughly enmeshed in the wheeling-dealing when he was asked by Costigan to approach Senator Masson to determine whether he would enter Bowell's cabinet as Angers' replacement. Masson refused and Lacombe reported to Langevin: "Il faut que je sois ce soir à Ottawa et presse M. Bowell d'ouvrir ainsi la session sans s'occuper de remplir la vacance d'Angers; car il me menace de prendre un Anglais et un protestant; presque les catholiques se montrent si apathétiques."[44] The Conservative candidate Hingston was defeated in Montreal Centre confirming the growth of Liberal power in Quebec and Lacombe became increasingly apprehensive over the disintegration of the federal Conservative party. On his own initiative he proposed Senator Desjardins to replace Angers but was rebuffed and Bowell refused to accept Senator Bernier, a Conservative Franco-Manitoban, when his appointment was suggested. With the situation virtually at a standstill when parliament opened on January 2, 1896, Lacombe pessimistically remarked that "la session s'ouvre aujourd'hui seulement pour la forme."[45]

Without warning, seven cabinet ministers resigned on January 4 on the pretext that the Angers portfolio had not been filled. Bowell threatened to resign in the face of this massive display of non-confidence in his leadership and Lacombe expected that Charles Hibbert Tupper would be called to form a new government.[46] Within a week, however, Bowell had reconstituted his cabinet, the seven maverick ministers returning and Senator Desjardins at last agreeing to lead the Quebec wing of the party.[47] It was understood that Bowell would lead the government for that session and that Sir Charles Tupper would replace Bowell to lead the party in the election. In the interval, Charles Hibbert Tupper, as Minister of Justice, would be responsible for the remedial bill's progress in the Commons. In Manitoba, meanwhile, the Liberal Greenway government was returned with an overwhelming majority of thirty-two seats to eight, with the school question the central electoral issue.[48]

Sensing perhaps that passage of a remedial bill ultimately depended on Laurier and the Liberal party, Lacombe, in the name of the Canadian Catholic episcopate, confronted him with a choice: either allow the bill to pass or risk the opprobrium of the bishops in the next election. The bishops would hear no more of any inquiry; furthermore

> Si ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise, vous ne croyez pas devoir vous rendre à notre juste demande et que le governement qui veut nous donner la loi promise soit battu, tout en tenant bon jusqu'à la fin de la lutte, je vous informe avec regret que tout l'épiscopat, comme un seul homme uni au clergé se levera pour soutenir ceux qui auront succombé en nous défendant.[49]

Several meetings ensued between Lacombe and Laurier during which the whole issue was hotly debated. Laurier became even more convinced that his policy was the correct one, that church interests would be favourably served if the Liberals succeeded. Lacombe commented incredulously in a letter to Langevin: "Il prétend que le jour où le governement sera battu sur cette question ce sera l'heure de notre triomphe!"[50]

In a calculated political move the Liberal party made Lacombe's letter public, an act that again roused charges of clerical interference in Canadian politics.[51] Laurier consulted Archbishop Walsh of Toronto to find out whether English-speaking bishops were of one mind with their French-speaking counterparts, but received little satisfaction. Walsh characterized Manitoba's public schools as "incomplete, defective and unsatisfactory" - Ontario's schools were a superior alternative. He felt that a further inquiry served no useful purpose, but a "round table conference" among the principals of the federal Liberal and Conservative parties together with some representatives of the Manitoba government might lead to a solution. Referring to the school question as an "opened festering wound," he foresaw "discord, hate and strife" if it were not solved quickly.[52] From Archbishop Bégin of Quebec, Laurier received a "partial disavowal" of Lacombe's statement and Bishop Emard of Valleyfield felt that Lacombe had gone too far: "Les conséquences sont si graves que je suis obligé de dire que, s'il y a eu autorisation donnée et engagement pris au nom de l'Episcopat, j'ai été personellement tout-à-fait ignoré."[53]

The Remedial Bill: A Liberal Victory

Despite dissention in the ranks of the Conservative party and the Catholic clergy, the remedial bill was introduced in parliament on February 11, 1896. It made provision for a provincially appointed Catholic Board of Education that would control separate schools, select textbooks, and license teachers. A superintendent would be appointed by provincial authorities but the board could appoint its own inspectors. The board schools would be financed through legislative grants, supplementary requisitions, and corporation taxes. A Catholic rate-payer, however, had the option of choosing the school system to which his taxes would be directed by informing the municipal clerk in writing of his choice. Where Catholics predominated in a local district, Protestant children would be excused from religious exercises. To provide trained teachers, normal departments, supported by legislative grants, would be established in French-English schools in St. Boniface. The sole language provision in the bill required urban boards to prepare students attending collegiates with a firm grounding in English and French language and literature. The final section of the bill reserved power to parliament to enact further remedial legislation as conditions required.[54]

When the Ottawa Citizen suggested that the bill applied only to Winnipeg and Brandon, Langevin corrected the misconception through the Ottawa Journal, saying that it applied "to the whole of Manitoba without the slightest discrimination."[55] Senator Bernier, although disappointed that provision for the sale of Crown lands and transfer of the proceeds to the Catholic board (should the provincial government fail to supply legislative grants), was not included in the bill, found the bill satisfactory.[56] He charged the Liberal opposition with hypocrisy when it proposed that the bill did not go far enough, but the opposition pressed its case that the bill was deceptive, a "trompe d'oeil," because secure financial support had not been provided.[57]

There was some consternation in Ottawa when the Archbishop of St. Boniface did not immediately approve the bill. While Langevin dallied and Bernier fretted, Lacombe kept insisting the bill had the archbishop's approval. Almost two weeks after the bill had been introduced in parliament Langevin telegrammed:

> Lex applicabilis efficax et satisfactoria. probo illam. omnes episcopi et veri catholici approbare debent. vita in lege. optima littera tua. nihil verum de conciliatione; dolandus venit, vidit, nihil fecit. euge tibi et sipi. J'approve pleinement votre déclaration écrite.
>
> Vigil[58]

With Langevin's approval of the bill Bishop Laflèche of Trois Rivières proposed further episcopal action, namely:

> une lettre collective épiscopale bien explicite et immédiate d'adhésion à cette loi, et d'obligation de conscience pour les députés catholiques de l'appuyer de leurs suffrages au moins des évêques des provinces (ecclésiastiques) de Québec, Montréal et Ottawa est desirée et même attendue avec hâte par tous les amis de cette cause sacrée.[59]

The project was effectively settled by Archbishop Bégin of Quebec, who was aware that government circles in Ottawa did not want this kind of pressure and, furthermore, that in episcopal circles there was doubt that such a mandemant could have the desired effect. Lacombe confirmed the Conservative's reluctance to have a public letter at that time whether from St. Boniface or from Ottawa and the project was dropped.[60]

Debate on second reading began on March 3. Laurier created a stir by reaffirming his independence of clerical or religious influence in making political decisions:

> Whenever it shall become my duty to take a stand upon any question whatever, that stand I will take not upon grounds of Roman Catholicism, not upon grounds of Protestantism, but upon grounds which can appeal to the conscience of all men, irrespective of their particular faith, upon grounds which can be occupied by all men who love justice, freedom, and toleration.[61]

He then moved an amendment that "the Bill be read the second time this day six months."[62] In the interval he called for a commission of inquiry. Ammunition for debate in the ensuing weeks was provided for Liberals by Senator L.G. Power's book The Remedial Bill from the Point of View of a Catholic Member, in which he criticized the bill for its deficiencies.

Lacombe was disgusted with Laurier's attack on the church, and the clergy and LaRivière, member for Provencher, thought that "Laurier brûle ses vaisseaux et son discours a été une véritable révolte contre l'influence cléricale ... telle qu'il a étonné même les protestants."[63] LaRivière also recounted a conversation he had had with Dalton McCarthy:

> Après le débat je rencontrai McCarthy et lui dis: 'Laurier had stolen your motion.' A quoi il repondit: 'He has not only done that, but he has stolen my title of champion of the Protestant cause.' Et il avait parfaitement raison.[64]

Bishop Laflèche welcomed Laurier's challenge: "C'est un duel à mort, il faut vaincre ou mourir! Tant mieux! J'aime les situations claires et précises."[65]

Langevin's February 22 telegram was read into Hansard on March 12, but there was no official confirmation of Langevin's stand by the Quebec episcopate and Langevin did not seek to confirm his telegram with a public statement. The Liberals used these lacunae to make "claims and suppositions," which could be dispelled only by a firm statement from St. Boniface. Lacombe complained that "les liberaux inventent des mensonges!" and demanded a letter as incontestible proof of Langevin's support for the bill. On March 14 Langevin replied that as "chief of the Catholic Minority [sic]," he approved the bill "in so far as it gives us a real control of our schools and an immense relief in our long agony." He opposed any meeting between Greenway and the Conservative government in Ottawa because "Mr. Greenway will never consent to give us what is contained in the 'Remedial Act'" and "even in case of such extraordinary concessions on [his] part, the decision would not be final as [he] could always repeal the new law and break the agreement."[66] With the archbishop and the federal Conservative party working together in harness once again, rumours of secession began circulating in Manitoba.[67]

On the last day of debate on second reading, Sir Donald Smith proposed one final meeting between the Manitoba and Ottawa governments during which time debate on the bill would be suspended; his proposal was accepted. Flavien Dupont gave notice to propose an amendment to section 74 of the bill to assure provincial grants for separate schools. After 1,400 columns of Hansard had been recorded on second reading, Laurier's "six months' hoist" was defeated 115 to 91 and the bill supported 112 to 94.[68]

Lady Aberdeen, wife of the governor-general, sought to use her influence with Archbishop Bégin, who communicated her stratagem to Langevin:

> elle etait chargée par S.E. le Gouverneur Général de venir me voir et mêmede me prier d'user mon influence auprès de Votre Grandeur pour adoucir les rouages et lui faire agréer une entente avec les délégés fédéraux à Winnipeg.[69]

Bégin replied that he had refused to intervene. Lady Aberdeen argued that the bill, if enacted, would be difficult to implement but Bégin disagreed: if separate schools existed in Quebec they would succeed in Manitoba. To assure peace in the country the constitutional rights of minorities had to be respected and the Dupont amendment would enhance stability. He emphasized that the bill should be passed and not become an election issue. Lady Aberdeen was visibly agitated by his answers and asked whether religion classes after school would be acceptable. Again Bégin demurred: "cela ne nous suffit pas ... car la religion doit impregner toute éducation, toute instruction."[70] Bégin's decision not to intervene left the initiative with Langevin.

While Lady Aberdeen exercised Archbishop Bégin, the Minister of Justice, A.R. Dickey, the Minister of Militia, Senator A. Desjardins, and Sir Donald Smith travelled to Winnipeg on March 23 to negotiate with Clifford Sifton and John Cameron of the Manitoba government. Desjardins had advised Langevin in advance of his "no compromise" position where Catholic rights were concerned and Sifton had engineered a resolution against the remedial bill in the Manitoba legislature in late February so that further talks seemed futile.[71] Liberal strategy required that "if the conference was likely to be a failure it should be kept going as long as possible."[72] And when the federal party arrived in Winnipeg the remedial bill was burned in effigy. The signs were inauspicious. The "suggestions for a settlement" presented by the "Dominion Commissioners" were a compromise that left real power in the hands of the Department of Education and the local public boards of trustees but at the same time allowed a degree of autonomy for Catholic parents. The settlement proposed a Catholic school room or school house under the supervision of a Catholic teacher where sufficient numbers warranted it. Textbooks would be mutually acceptable to the Advisory Board and the religious minority. Where Catholic children predominated in a district the public school religious exercises regulations would not apply. Catholics would also have representation on the Advisory Board and the boards of teacher examination, and assistance in the maintenance of a normal school. The Manitoba representatives rejected the compromise. After chastising the commissioners for not living up to the terms under which the meeting was arranged, namely, that debate on the bill would be suspended while negotiations progressed, they were "unable to accede to the terms."[73] Sifton later acknowledged that he was "not prepared to have Manitoba accept any concessions to the Catholics and favoured a remedial law [that] the Manitoba government would respect."[74]

Debate on the bill continued: Langevin kept insisting that the Dupont amendment, which would secure additional finances for Catholic schools, be included in the bill but was warned that time was running short.[75] Greenway expressed dismay at a report that the Liberals had stopped opposing the bill: "I should think it of the utmost importance that every legitimate means should be used to prevent its passage so that the open question may be submitted to the electorate."[76] Liberal strategy in the House seemed to give some credence to the report; Ouimet noticed that French Catholic Liberals pretended to favour the bill while English Protestants belaboured it hour upon hour, the French sitting silently when present at all.[77] LaRivière was confident that the bill would have the support of the Catholic Liberals, and the Conservatives pressed ahead prolonging the daily sessions to force completion of the debates.[78] Langevin travelled to Ottawa in April where he was dissuaded from pressing for acceptance of the Dupont amendment.[79]

With only fourteen of the 112 clauses of the bill passed by April 15 and the Liberal filibuster succeeding admirably, the Conservatives withdrew the bill, passed the estimates, prorogued the house on April 23, and called the election for June 23. To consolidate his strength in Ontario, Laurier approached Sir Oliver Mowat, premier of the province for twenty-four years, to campaign federally for the Liberal party. In replying to Laurier's offer, Ewart felt that the "school question present[ed] the gravest difficulties" for his uncle's acceptance.[80] John S. Willison of the Toronto Globe had long ago cautioned Laurier that Ontario was the lynch-pin in the election and that it would "destroy [any] party that attempt[ed] arbitrary interference with Manitoba."[81] Langevin, meanwhile, solicited the support of the former lieutenant-governor of Quebec, Adolphe Chapleau, to lend his weight to the Conservative cause and was disappointed when

Chapleau refused.[82] Mowat agreed to run federally and on May 7, in an address at Quebec city, Laurier stated:

> Do not misunderstand my intentions, I repeat here that I wish the minority in Manitoba to obtain justice. It is a principle written in letters of gold in the programme of my party, that the rights of the minority must be respected....
>
> If the people of Canada bring me to power, as I am convinced they will, I will settle this question to the satisfaction of all interested parties. I shall have with me in my government Sir Oliver Mowat, who has always been in Ontario, the peril of his own popularity, the champion of the Catholic minority and of the separate schools. I will put him at the head of a commission, where all the interests at stake shall be represented, and I affirm to you that I will succeed in satisfying those who are suffering at this moment. Is not Sir Oliver Mowat's name alone a guarantee of the success of this plan?
>
> And finally, if conciliation does not succeed, I shall have to exercise that constitutional recourse which the law furnishes, 'a recourse which I shall exercise completely and entirely.'[83]

In Montreal, a group of Catholic bishops had assembled at Archbishop Langevin's request, to decide whether to publish a mandemant "nette et précise" for the forthcoming election. Both the Ontario and Quebec episcopacy were represented and the bishops agreed to act together, united to oppose Laurier in spite of his promise of legal redress if conciliation failed. Not only had he prevented passage of the remedial bill, Langevin afterwards warned Cardinal Ledochowski, but he had threatened the clergy: "vous me menacez; on veut la guerre. Eh bien! on l'aura. Nous nous défendrons contre le clergé."[84] Acting in concert the bishops published the mandemant on May 17, advising Catholics

> accorder leur suffrage qu'aux candidats qui s'engageront formellement et solonnellement à voter, au Parlement, en faveur d'une législation rendant à la minorité catholique du Manitoba les droits scolaires qui lui sont reconnus par l'honorable Conseil Privé d'Angleterre. Ce grave devoir s'impose à tout bon catholique, et vous ne seriez justifiable ni devant Dieu luimême de forfaire à cette obligation.[85]

The bishops based their right to help form moral conscience on the authority of the Pope Leo XIII encyclical Immortale Die:

> Quidquid igitur est in rebus humanis quoquo modo sacrum, quidquid ad salutem animorum cultuve Dei pertinet, sive tale illud sit natura sua, sive rursus tale intelligatur propter causam, ad quam refertur, id est omne in potestate arbitrioque ecclesiae.[86]

The immediate result was another general uproar across the country with charges of clerical interference in public life prompting a reaction from the Methodist and Presbyterian churches condemning any restoration of separate schools in Manitoba.[87] To strengthen the bishops' hand, Langevin wrote Rome, "solliciter un mot d'éloge et d'approbation."[88]

In Western Canada Hugh John Macdonald, newly appointed Minister of the Interior in the federal cabinet, pressed Langevin to support N.F. Davin's candidature for parliament and Langevin responded by circulating letters to his clergymen providing support for Conservatives.[89] He considered Liberals the worst enemies of the Catholic faith and the French race.[90] When Macdonald spoke in Edmonton proposing conciliation, Langevin demanded an explanation and was duly informed that Macdonald felt that the surest solution would come from the provincial government through adequate legislation or, failing that, through federal remedial legislation.[91] After polling took place on June 23, the Liberal party emerged victorious, winning 118 seats against the Conservatives 88. Quebec gave the Liberals a healthy majority, 49 of 65 seats, while in Manitoba 4 of 7 seats went Conservative.[92] One month later, while in Montreal on his way to Europe, Langevin wrote Laurier:

> Je tiens à vous accuser de mon profond respect et de mon désir de traiter avec vous comme je l'ai fait avec les hommes de l'autre gouvernement.

> Nous sommes des hommes d'ordre et l'autorité est toujours sacrés pour nous. Pour ce qui est de la grave question des écoles nous ferons en sorte de faciliter par tous les moyens possibles du règlement heureux de cette difficulté, et à Dieu ne plaise qui nous refusions jamais de seconder franchement votre bonne volonté.[93]

For the forthcoming negotiations between the two governments he suggested Dr. J. Guerin as his representative.[94] Laurier ignored the suggestion.

Summary

Archbishop Langevin had suffered his first serious setback at the hands of Canadian politicians and smarted under the stings of defeat and humiliation. Having become archbishop while Catholic religious rights were being attacked and his French Canadian ancestry vilified, he entered the fray hesitatingly, unsure of his own courage. Carrying the full weight of responsibility for the eventual outcome of the battle over the schools, he soon overcame his initial trepidation and moved decisively to meet his antagonists.

That the school question would not be decided on the issue of principle but rather on that of political expediency became apparent when Laurier refused to support the remedial order of March 1895 even when requested to do so by Langevin. Langevin's distrust of Liberals was confirmed and, in the political maelstrom that ensued, he acted vigorously to have a debilitated Conservative administration reelected. His manoeuvres, though skilful, failed to achieve success. He sent Father Lacombe to do the "infighting," relying on Lacombe's prestige among eastern power brokers to present the Catholic case most forcefully. Lacombe's ultimatum of allowing the remedial bill to pass or suffering the opprobrium of the bishops in the forthcoming election, which rattled Laurier, had Langevin's tacit approval. And the bill introduced by a tottering Conservative party resulted at least in part from Lacombe's intervention. The bill (drafted with John S. Ewart's participation) was submitted to Langevin for his approval; henceforward, he would accept nothing less than full restoration of school rights. When the Conservatives withdrew the bill and sought a mandate from the people, the Liberals were elected.

In pressing for a political decision Langevin was the acknowledged leader of the Canadian Catholic hierarchy: Archbishop Bégin would not interfere even at the request of the governor-general. It was Langevin who rallied the bishops to publish the mandement on the eve of the 1896 election, and, in his own diocese, he advised the clergy to support the Conservatives. Where the politicans used the instruments of the state to attack religious rights Langevin felt justified in employing those same instruments to mount his counter-offensive. He was unsuccessful, but not for lack of trying.

1. Morice, *Vie de Mgr. Langevin*, 102.

2. *Ibid.*, 111.

3. *Ibid.*, 120.

4. *Ibid.*, 117.

5. Quoted by Vianney Decaire, "Réflexions Sur Les Rapports De La Société Canadienne-Française Et De L'Eglise Dans Le Domaine De L'Education", *L'Eglise et le Québec*, Marcel Rioux (ed.) (Montréal: Les Editions du Jour, 1961), 120.

6. L.-P. Audet, "Educational Development in French-Canada after 1875," *Canadian Education: A History*, J.D. Wilson, R.M. Stamp, L.-P. Audet (eds.) (Toronto: Prentice Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970), 342.

7. E.R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1968), 233-5.

8. Quoted in C. Dawson, *The Crisis of Western Education* (New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1961), 103. For Savaète it is mere quibbling to maintain that a Liberal of the English school was *sui generis*, entirely another species apart from the Continental variety. "They were liberals of the English school holding with Sir.W. Laurier, that neither Pope nor bishop had the right to intervene, or set guidelines in political and legislative matters; they claimed to be progressive, yet showed themselves to be opportunist, always ready to yield a sensitive conscience for a substantial, palpable and immediate advantage." Savaète, *Les Ecoles du Nord-Ouest*, 324. In the encyclical *Libertas Praestantissimum* of June 20, 1888, Pope Leo XIII charged that the "followers of Liberalism deny the existence of any divine authority to which obedience is due, and proclaim that every man is the law to himself," which line of reasoning leads to the conclusion that "religion, as a public institution, can have no claim to exist, and that everything that belongs to religion will be treated with complete indifference." *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1903), 145-6.

9. *Statutes of Manitoba*, (1871) 34 Vic., c.12.

10. *Ibid.*, (1873) 36 Vic., c. 12, s.7.

11. D. de Saint Denis, *L'Eglise Catholique Au Canada* (Montreal: Les Editions Thau, 1959), 194.

12. Glinz, *op. cit.*, 14.

13. Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality," 11-12.

14. Clague, *op. cit.*, 292.

15. Clark, *The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights?*, 58.

16. *Ibid.*, 60-1.

17. *Ibid.*, 62.

18. Quoted in Fenske, *op. cit.*, 94.

19. Quoted in Carter, *op. cit.*, 112.

20. Clark, *op. cit.*, 100.

21. Quoted in Groulx, "Documents Inédits: Correspondance Langevin-Audet," 272. Langevin's underlining.

22. Quoted in *Ibid.*, 273.

23. Groulx, "Mgr. Adélard Langevin d'après une partie de sa Correspondance," 581.

24. Quoted in *Ibid.*, 577.

25. Quoted in *ibid.*, 585.

26. Greenway papers, Schultz to Greenway, February 13, 1895.

27. Langevin papers, DH, Laurier to Langevin, May 14, 1895.

28. *Ibid.*, DH, Lindsay to Langevin, June 17, 1895. Langevin distrusted the federal Conservatives because of Sir John Thompson's vacillation and their attitude towards Mgr. Taché, whom they treated as "un insensé ou un enfant." See Langevin's letters of December 21, 1893, February 15, 1894 and March 20, 1894 in Groulx "Documents Inédits: Correspondance Langevin-Audet," 273-4.

29. Quoted in Clark, *op. cit.*, 166-7.

30. Quoted in *Ibid.*, 169.

31. Langevin papers, DH, LaRivière to Langevin, June 29, 1895.

32. *Ibid.*, DH, Cleary to Langevin, July 3, 1895.

33. *Ibid.*, DH, Langevin to Ewart, July 4, 1895.
    On July 13, 1895 Lady Aberdeen reported that Langevin "had also agreed that the plan of the two Committees [i.e. one Protestant and one Roman Catholic under a single school board] might do." John T. Saywell (ed.), *The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1960), 235.

34. Quoted in Clark, *op. cit.*, 171.

35. Langevin papers, DH, Ewart to Langevin, July 18, 1895.

36. *Ibid.*, DH, Caron to Langevin, November 2, 1895.

37. *Ibid.*, DH, Langevin to C.H. Tupper, November 27, 1895 and November 30, 1895.

38. Quoted in Skelton, I, 463.

39. Quoted in Clark, *op. cit.*, 173-5.

40. Quoted in Paul E. Crunican, "Father Lacombe's Strange Mission," 57.

41. Langevin papers, DH, Lacombe to Langevin, December 12, 1895. Lacombe comments: "Ab amicis nostris, libera nos, Dne."

42. *Ibid.*, DH, Caron to Langevin (telegram), December 27, 1895.

43. Crunican, *op. cit.*, 59-60.

44. Quoted in *ibid.*, 60.

45. Langevin papers, DH, Lacombe to Langevin, January 2, 1896.

46. Crunican, *op. cit.*, 62.

47. *Ibid.*, Desjardins acceptance of a cabinet post was conditional on the requirement that a remedial bill acceptable to Father Lacombe and "autres amis authorisés de la cause de la minorité de Manitoba" be introduced (*ibid.*).

48. Ross, *op. cit.*, 66.

49. Langevin papers, DH, Lacombe to Laurier, January 20, 1896.

50. *Ibid.*, DH, January 30, 1896.

51. Dafoe states, "Professor Skelton says boldly that 'it [Lacombe's] letter was made public through ecclesiastical channels.' It would be interesting to know his authority for this statement. The writer of this article says it was published as the result of a calculated indiscretion by the Liberal board of strategy. As it was through his agency that publication of the letter was sought and secured; it will be agreed that he speaks with knowledge. It does not of course follow that Laurier was a party to its publication." J.W. Dafoe, *Laurier, a Study in Canadian Politics* (Toronto: Thomas Allan, 1922), 38.

52. Langevin papers, DH, January 30, 1896.

53. Quoted in Crunican, op. cit., 64, Emard to Fabre, February 21, 1896.

54. The Remedial Act (Manitoba). Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1896.

55. Langevin papers, DH, [n.d.].

56. Ibid., DH, Bernier to Langevin, February 8, 1896.

57. Ibid., DH, same to same, February 11, 1896.

58. Ibid., DH, Langevin to Lacombe, February 22, 1896. In translation: The law is applicable, effective and satisfactory. I approve it. All bishops and true Catholics ought to approve it. There is life in the law. Your letters are excellent. There was no compromise; the troublemaker came, saw and did nothing. Congratulations to you and sipI [LaRivière]. I approve entirely your written declaration.

59. Quoted in Crunican, "The Manitoba School Question and Federal Politics 1890-1896," 453, Laflèche to Bégin, February 26, 1896.

60. Langevin papers, DH, Lacombe to Langevin, February 28, 1896.

61. House of Commons, Debates, March 3, 1896, cols. 7737-59.

62. House of Commons, Journals, March 3, 1896, 104.

63. Langevin papers, DH, Lacombe to Langevin, March 4, 1896.

64. Ibid., DH, LaRivière to Langevin, March 5, 1896.

65. Ibid., DH, Laflèche to Langevin, March 6, 1896.

66. Ibid., LB I, Langevin to Lacombe, March 14, 1896.

67. Ibid., DH, Angers to Langevin, March 13, 1896. See also The World, March 10, 1896.

68. House of Commons, Journals, March 18, 1896, 137-9.

69. Langevin papers, DH, Bégin to Langevin, March 25, 1896. Lady Aberdeen had urged Langevin towards a negotiated settlement by letter on December 22, 1895. See Crunican, op. cit., 398.

70. Ibid., DH, Bégin to Langevin, March 25, 1896.

71. *Ibid.*, DH, LaRivière to Langevin, March 21, 1896, and Crunican, *op. cit.*, 467.

72. J.W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times*, 89-90.

73. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, (39C), "B", 1896.

74. Quoted in L. LaPierre, "Politics, Race and Religion in French Canada: Joseph Israel Tarte", 284, Fond Bernier, Desjardins to Bernier, January 14, 1902.

75. Langevin papers, DH, (telegram), Lachapelle to Langevin, April 6, 1896. The Dupont Amendment to section 74 of the Remedial Act reads: "Dans le cas où la législature de Manitoba ne ferait pas annuellement cette appropriation aux écoles separées, le gouverneur général en conseil devra, sur les sommes provenant de la vente des terres et attribuées pour le soutien de l'éducation au Manitoba, accorder chaque année aux écoles séparées une somme proportionelle à celle votée par la législature du Manitoba aux écoles publiques ou pour des fins d'éducation et l'acte concernant les terres publiques chapitre 24 est amendé en conséquence." Lettre à Son Excellence Mgr. R. Merry del Val, DH, June 14, 1897.

76. Greenway papers, Greenway to Martin, April 8, 1896. Greenway's underlining.

77. Langevin papers, DH, Ouimet to Langevin, April 8, 1896.

78. *Ibid.*, DH, LaRivière to Langevin, April 8, 1896.

79. Abbé L. Colin, Superior of Le Grand Seminaire, Montréal, is credited by Groulx with changing Langevin's mind. Groulx, *L'Enseignement français au Canada*, II, 115.

80. Ewart Collection, Ewart to Laurier, April 17, 1896.

81. Quoted in J.H. Stewart Reid, K. McNaught and H. Crowe, *A Source Book of Canadian History* (Toronto: Longmans Canada Limited, 1969), 355.

82. Langevin papers, DH, Chapleau to Langevin, May 1, 1896.

83. House of Commons, *Debates*, March 5, 1912, col. 4434.

84. Langevin papers, LB I, Langevin to Ledochowski, June 9, 1896.

85. Quoted in Savaète, *Les Ecoles du Nord Ouest Canadien*, 348.

86. Quoted in Denziger and Schönmetzer, _Enchiridion Symbolorum_, 619. In translation: "Whatever, therefore, in things human is of a sacred character, whatever belongs either of its own nature or by reason of the end to which it is referred, to the salvation of souls or to the worship of God, is subject to the power and judgment [authority] of the Church," _The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII_ (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1903), 115. One commentator distinguishes between authority as exercised by the church and that exercised by the state: "authority is a commission to lead in love and in the service of love; this, and not a grant of dominative or jurisdictional power in the secular sense, is what enables authority to exercise its leadership and to demand the assent of the other members of the Church." John L. McKenzie, _Authority in the Church_ (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1966), 61.

87. Clark, _op. cit._, 207-8.

88. Langevin papers, LB I, Langevin to Ledochowski, June 9, 1896.

89. _Ibid._, DH, Macdonald to Langevin, June 10, 1896 and _ibid._, LB I, Langevin to Macdonald, June 13, 1896.

90. _Ibid._, LB I, Langevin to Giroux, June 15, 1896.

91. _Ibid._, QS, Langevin to Macdonald, June 15, 1896.

92. J.M. Beck, _Pendulum of Power, Canada's Federal Elections_ (Toronto: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1968), 86.

93. Langevin papers, QS, Langevin to Laurier, July 9, 1896.

94. _Ibid._

CHAPTER II

THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT AND AFFARI VOS

The Laurier-Greenway Compromise

In September 1896, on his return from Europe where he was to travel several times in the coming years to seek restoration of his health, Langevin met in Ottawa with Prime Minister Laurier and Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works. In the course of a long meeting the archbishop became convinced that "tout serait reglé sans nous." Laurier had spoken vaguely of religious education and French language instruction, but with none of the conciseness that showed any determination to put his stamp on the final decision. Langevin left the meeting "inquiet et le coeur brisé."[1] Negotiations had gone ahead between the Manitoba and Dominion governments since August but Laurier felt that the archbishop had to be approached if a lasting solution was to be effected. To this end in late October he sent Israel Tarte and Henri Bourassa to negotiate directly with Langevin. The archbishop was not well disposed towards Tarte because of his attacks on the clergy in his newspaper Le Cultivateur but received the federal emissaries nevertheless. Langevin recounted how, after asking for restoration of Catholic rights and handing over the information Tarte had requested, the minister replied that he would be satisfied with whatever the Manitoba government was willing to give and added: "Au reste nous pourrions abandonner complètement cette affaire et refuser de la régler, et la Province de

Québec nous resterait fidèle. - Vous voulez des écoles confessionnelles, vous demandez l'impossible."[2] After four meetings Tarte was less than enthusiastic about Langevin's hoped for acquiescence to a negotiated agreement. He wrote Laurier:

> Archbishop Langevin stands firm for the right to organize Catholic school districts. In other words, he demands the re-establishment of separate schools, which, as you know, is out of the question. I have not shown him the agreement, for I believe that he would immediately have taken advantage of it to raise a row. The priests who surround him are fanatical and full of prejudice. The Archbishop, however, seems to me to be coming back to a more moderate position, and I do not think he will make a disturbance. Our relations have been very cordial. I have tried to learn his views and to pacify him, by making him realize more clearly the unfortunate side of the present situation for Catholics. In fact, half the French schools are closed and about 1500 French Canadian children are today without instruction.[3]

While Tarte recognized Langevin's willingness to compromise Bourassa considered the archbishop impulsive and intransigent.[4] Even before Langevin had become archbishop, former Lieutenant-Governor Schultz noted that, in contrast to Archbishop Taché, Langevin was inclined towards "expediency."[5]

Bishop Laflèche circulated a letter among the Canadian Catholic hierarchy asking their opinion "in the presence of the injustice done to the minority in Manitoba in the matter of their schools, what ... line of conduct ... should be observed by the Catholics of the Commons and especially by the Bishops?" Mgr. Walsh felt that the Holy See was competent in such matters since the Canadian hierarchy would have differing opinions on how to proceed. On the further question of what line of conduct to follow with regard to parents who send their children to public schools the answer was evident: "Either separate Catholic schools exist or they do not. In the former case we refuse absolution to parents who send their children to the public schools: - In the latter case we allow them to do so."[6] Similarly, Walsh advised Langevin to submit the pending agreement between the Laurier and Greenway governments to the Holy See and then to follow its guidance and directions. But he also encouraged him to "hold out for your full rights - for all you can get."[7]

Mgr. Cleary of Kingston was direct in his appraisal of Quebeckers. He wrote Laflèche:

> I have been shocked and disgusted by the conduct of the majority of your people; and consequently I cannot have full confidence in them until they have shown by undoubted evidence, which only a new election will manifest, that they are ready to yield to the authority of the hierarchy on this question of faith and morals.
>
> It would be a disasterous calamity were the hierarchy to take a firm stand such as I have taken, and find their mandates despised by their own people.... In the recent federal elections, whose main issue was the Manitoba School question, the Catholics of Ontario ranged themselves with moral unanimity of both liberals and conservatives, on the Catholic side against the perfidious liberal leader who calls himself a Catholic.[8]

He than cautioned that "it would be worse than useless for any single Bishop to strike out for himself apart from the action or, at least, the known sympathy of his fellow Bishops."[9] Laflèche's attempt to foster clerical intervention had been thwarted.

The settlement was announced on November 19. Langevin recalled how

> je ne l'ai connu que par M. Ewart, notre avocat le soir de sa publication à Winnipeg. C'est alors que j'ai cru devoir protester. Je n'aurais jamais pensé que l'on oserait faire un tel compromis qui va à l'abandon de tous nos droits. J'avais évité avec soin avant la conclusion du Règlement de dire quoi que ce fut qui put embarrasser le Gouvernement; j'ai même toujours eu soin de dire que j'avais l'espoir et la confiance qu'on nous rendrait justice.

Langevin's disappointment was shared by leaders of French-speaking Conservatives in Manitoba particularly Senator Bernier and A.C. LaRivière. Protestant leaders such as Rev. George Bryce in Manitoba and Dalton McCarthy in Ottawa approved the settlement as a "reasonable and satisfactory" compromise. But the Grand Orange Lodge of Manitoba came out fully against the compromise and denounced it for surrendering to "denominational pretentions."[10] Langevin's public reaction to the compromise was both dejected and ominous:

> How we have been sold, how Quebec has been betrayed! too bad, too bad; but I tell you there will be a revolution in Quebec which will ring throughout Canada and these men who are today triumphant will be cast down. The fight is only begun.[11]

Archbishop Bégin voiced his opposition publicly and La Semaine Religieuse, official organ of Archbishop Fabre of Montreal, stated: "The Manitoba school question is not settled; it merely enters a new phase....There is no danger of His eminence the Holy Father assenting: the signal for retreat will never come from Rome."[12]

What were the concessions that gave rise to such vociferous opposition? The first concession allowed religious teaching to be carried on between 3:30 and 4:00 p.m. by any Christian clergyman with the permission of the local board of trustees or if requested by parents of ten children in a rural school or twenty-five in an urban school. Parents retained the right to absent their children from any religious exercise. The second concession required trustees, when petitioned by parents, to hire a certificated Catholic teacher in rural schools with an average attendance of twenty-five Catholic pupils or forty in urban schools. Non-Catholics had the same right to have a non-Catholic teacher hired in schools in which they were a minority. The third concession allowed bilingual instruction in the school; although French and English were named, French was placed on the same level as any "native language" other than English. The provincial government also agreed to assure fair Catholic representation on the Advisory Council, inspectorate, and provincial examining board.[13]

Langevin's Response to the Compromise

In a circular letter to his clergy the archbishop outlined his response to "le prétendu règlement scolaire." Since the compromise sanctioned "neutral" schools in Manitoba, Langevin proposed to establish Catholic parochial schools wherever possible and to regain control of those that had passed to the government in 1890. It was up to the clergy to "stimuler le bon vouloir des parents" to carry the project through. Henceforth, one important criterion to judge the good administration of the parish would be to ascertain the number of schools opened, their financial support, and the scholastic progress of the children in them. Parishioners would be encouraged to express opposition to the compromise, whether through parish meetings, conventions, or petitions. Furthermore, the diocesan clergy would be called to a meeting at the archeveché on December 2 to discuss the ways and means of countering the "crisis." Langevin then required of each priest a written resume on the following:

1. the number of school age children between 5 and 15 in each school district, and the method of financial support;
2. the number of teachers, Catholic or non-Catholic, the nature of their certificates, and the textbooks used in the schools;
3. the number of schools closed and for how long;
4. proposals for opening the closed schools;
5. how to raise funds to pay for the schools;
6. the best books to adopt for the schools.[14]

An incomplete list prepared in November 1896 showed that there were at least 3,336 Catholic children in the public and parochial schools of Manitoba.[15]

Concern for the educational welfare of these children seemed remote in the manoeuvrings that ensued in the next few months. Laurier had appealed directly to Rome in September 1896, dispatching Abbé J.-B. Proulx of Saint-Lin to request Rome's intervention to restore peace in the Catholic community in Canada. The Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda, Cardinal Ledochowski, had approved the bishops' mandement of May 16, although he criticized the severity of the sanction against those who did not comply with its decrees, and was unreceptive to Proulx's suggestion on behalf of the Canadian government. Ledochowski, who had been imprisoned during Bismarck's Kulturkampf, fostered stronger opposition to the Laurier-Greenway agreement by advising Langevin, "energicam protestationem emittat ... et declaret se nihil acceptare posse quod Constitutioni et Decreto Consilii Privati Reginae non sit in hoc materia consonum."[16] At the same time the Quebec bishops had L.-O. David's work "Le Clergé canadien, Sa Mission, et Son Oeuvre" placed on the Index because, among other reasons, it had criticized the Catholic hierarchy for supporting the Conservative party on the Manitoba school question.[17] Confident that Rome supported their initiative in Canada, the Quebec bishops began work on a pastoral letter against the Laurier-Greenway compromise.[18] But on January 14, 1897, the Liberals petitioned the pope to issue an order forbidding the clergy to mix in politics and to appoint an apostolic delegate to arbitrate the endless disputes in Quebec.

Clergy and Politicians: Manoeuvres

While in Rome in the autumn of 1896 Archbishop Bégin marshalled support for an encyclical and received firm assurance that one would be published in which the pope would outline the position of the church on education, leaving the bishops to apply the principles to the Manitoba case. Awaiting this document from Rome, Bégin circulated a short letter among the Canadian Catholic hierarchy requesting their signatures to a statement repudiating the compromise. The bishops of Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Halifax, and St. Boniface signed while the English-speaking bishops of Ontario balked and requested a delay pending publication of the encyclical. This cordial rebuff was accepted with good grace and it was eventually agreed that each bishop would publish his own letter.[19]

Both politicians and clergymen began their manoeuvres to gain an advantage. Early in January 1897, Laurier telegraphed Rome to receive his personal representative, Solicitor-General Charles Fitzpatrick, and to suspend action taken towards a resolution of the question. Fitzpatrick proceeded to London where he obtained letters from Cardinal Vaughan and the Duke of Norfolk and then proceeded to Rome accompanied by Charles Russell, son of the English chief justice. He carried with him an opinion written by Edward Blake, which supported implementation of the compromise rather than a remedial law.[20] He had also obtained the approval of Downing Street to the proposals to be laid before the pope.[21] Langevin also tried his hand at Vatican politics. In Ottawa, on January 11, Lady Aberdeen willingly acceded to his request for an interview with the governor-general.[22] And in Rome the Holy See conferred apostolic benediction upon the prelate and granted a plenary indulgence (for the souls in purgatory) to those who contributed to the fund for the support of Catholic schools in Manitoba.[23] Langevin, however, had failed to checkmate Laurier: the Vatican agreed to delay publication of the encyclical and send an apostolic delegate to Canada.[24] Bégin was upset by this turn of events; he had calculated that publication of the encylical before parliament opened in March would force Laurier to introduce a remedial bill.[25] Hoping that further direct pressure in Rome would be useful, he left Quebec on March 1 and sent telegrams from New York requesting a delay in the departure of the delegate. By the time he reached Rome, the delegate had already left.

Attention to local politics in Manitoba hastened Langevin's return from Ottawa. Observers in Britain and the United States considered the St. Boniface by-election of February 20, 1897 a crucial test of the Laurier-Greenway compromise.[26] Langevin, too, saw it as a test case and gave public support to the Conservative candidate, J.-B. Lauzon. When the votes were counted Lauzon emerged victorious with "the largest proportion of the popular vote in the constituency's history (388 to 208)."[27] The correspondent for the Minneapolis Journal, a paper that in some circles was considered the "ennemi juré de l'Eglise," reported that "Archbishop Langevin declares himself as well satisfied with the result, as showing Roman Catholic sentiment to be hostile to the plan of settlement."[28]

Langevin had also prevailed upon a Liberal member of the Manitoba legislature, James Fisher, a Protestant and law partner of John S. Ewart, to approach Laurier with a proposal to lighten the financial burden on Manitoba Catholics by allowing them to tax themselves for their own schools and to be exempted from the public school tax.[29] Laurier granted an interview, but refused his request claiming that any changes in the compromise would "Proclaim to the world that the terms effected were not satisfactory." Greenway was informed of Fisher's "strong views on this subject" and warned to stay on his guard.[30] In Ottawa, the Throne speech of March 25 stated simply that a settlement between the federal and Manitoba governments on the school question had been reached and hoped that it would "put an end to the agitation which has marred the harmony and impeded the development of our country." No further action was proposed.[31] In Manitoba, the terms of the compromise were enacted by the legislature on March 29, 1897 as amendments to the 1890 Public Schools Act. Lauzon made a symbolic gesture by moving an amendment, which was overwhelmingly rejected, thereby publicly proclaiming the continued dissatisfaction of some Catholics with Manitoba's educational system.

During the month of March Langevin had been kept informed of events in Rome through Thomas Dawson, a priest of the Oblate Order in London, England. His particular pipeline stretched through Cardinal Vaughan's semi-official church publication The Tablet and its editor, S. Cox, whom he considered a trusted associate. The comings and goings of Senator Landry, Cardinal Vaughan, Charles Russell, Mgr. Merry del Val, Edward Blake, and Mgr. Bégin were carefully recorded and sent to Langevin. Some items were particularly noteworthy: Russell had let it be known that Cardinal Ledochowski had "not given a very good hearing to

Fitzpatrick, professing to understand the case very well already. But that the pope himself said, 'Tell me everything freely, give me all your views'."[32] At first the pope was reluctant to send anyone to Canada "out of consideration for the Bishops" but "after talks with Fitz[sic] and Russell he agreed to let the question [of a delegate] be examined, and appointed six Cardinals." Apparently Cardinals Segna and Vaughan pressed for a delegate.[33] Cardinal Rampolla, Vatican Secretary of State, diplomatically criticized Langevin's tactics before the St. Boniface election, especially his words about a choice between the church and approval of the "settlement,"[34] and resolved, "I am telegraphing - not in cypher - to the Bishop of Chicoutimi that the Bishops are to suspend all action. Not in cypher, so your [Canadian] Government, will be able to have knowledge of the message."[35] Mgr. Bégin had met Cardinal Vaughan and had apparently convinced him that the government's case was weaker than it appeared; but it was too late - the delegate had already been appointed.[36] The apostolic delegate, Merry Del Val, would stay at Government House in Ottawa, but his first duty would be to travel west.[37]

Mgr. Merry del Val: Papal Ablegate in Canada

On the day that Merry del Val arrived in Canada, Israel Tarte unleashed an attack in parliament against the Quebec Catholic hierarchy wherein he read into the record the words of the petition sent by the Liberals to Rome. The reason for the apostolic delegate's visit, he argued, was not to inquire into the Manitoba school question but rather to protect the Liberals from the bishops.[38] Merry del Val, however, made the purpose of his mission quite explicit:

> La question des écoles du Manitoba et les déplorables divisions qui en ont été le résultat ont préoccupé vivement le Saint Siège, et c'est afin de purvoir, en union avec les Evêques Canadiens aux intérêts de la religion en cette matière que le Saint Père à voulu me détacher de sa personne et m'envoyer auprès de vous.[40]

The courage and zeal of the Canadian Catholic hierarchy had "certainement mérité l'approbation" of the Holy See. The delegate then invited all bishops "à délibérer avec moi sur la question et sur les moyens pratiques de faire face aux exigences de la situation présente." Through this mission he hoped to achieve four goals: to effect union among Catholics in Canada, to assure the prestige of the bishops, to restore "l'obéissance des fidèles," and to obtain a solution to the Manitoba school question acceptable to everyone. He then requested a statement of the kinds of changes that the hierarchy could effect to make "la convention scolaire proposée par M. Laurier tolérable dans les circonstances actuelles du Manitoba et du Canada."[41]

In London, England, Donald Smith was reported to say that the "settlement" would have to be accepted because any government trying to implement what the Catholics wanted would be "wrecked." What was wanted, at least by most politicians in Canada, was a school system in Manitoba modelled on that in Nova Scotia, that is, one that was secular and unified, a "national" system. These views were then purported to have been passed on to Merry delVal.[42] The delegate must have been impressed for he seemed to have a negative attitude towards a remedial bill in spite of LaRivière's defence of it. The delegate felt that to make the compromise effective perhaps more effort was needed on the part of Catholic Manitobans with solid guarantees of support from government.[43] A memorandum to the delegate on April 12 recommended restoration of Catholic rights in Manitoba and support for the bishops' authority. Provincial elections were pending in Quebec (May 11) and the petitioners did not wish to fall "pieds et poings liés, entre les mains de nos ennemis qui sont ceux de l'Eglise et qui se moqueraient bien de tous les enseignements et directions de Rome."[44]

Mgr. Merry del Val visited Winnipeg, consulted Langevin, and returned to Ottawa by April 24. He had asked the archbishop to put in writing "*les modifications qui rendraient la convention scolaire proposée par M. Laurier tolérable dans les circonstances actuelles du Manitoba et du Canada et cela, en vue des difficultés constitutionnelles légales et religieuses de la situation présente*." The Laurier-Greenway compromise did not embody a single concession based on the Manitoba Act of 1870 or the Imperial Privy Council decision of 1895, Langevin wrote, therefore it was impossible to discuss how to utilize any concession. Furthermore, the so-called compromise was "mauvais en lui-même et injuste, comme il n'est pas seulement un *expedient politique, une necessité du moment* pour sauver un parti politique." Apart from the fact that the Manitoba school system was the result of political expediency, the kind of religious instruction taught in the schools would be disastrous since Roman Catholic tenets could not be discussed during regular class time:

> C'est le divorce entre l'éducation et l'instruction religieuse, c'est l'école neutre bien plus dangereuse et plus perfide que l'école athée parcequ'elle garde une couleur de religion qui trompe les simples, satisfait les indifférents et fait sourire les méchants de pitié.[45]

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If the Manitoba school system were to become the model of "modern" education, as the Liberals were proposing, then Quebec would be in danger of introducing a "neutral" system. Langevin's solution was:

> a) Amener tous les Catholiques à demander une loi fédérale remédiatrice.
> b) Organiser nos écoles avec les aumônes du clergé et des fidèles et attendre que les événements, la force des choses nous amenent des jours meilleurs.[46]

Financial backing was entirely possible, Langevin argued, from private sources: "Je vois que le clergé de la seule province de Québec vient de nous donner plus de $12,000 piastres en nous promettant de nous donner chacun autant pendant cinq ans et plus." He wanted to avoid any act at the moment that could be interpreted as a capitulation for the sake of money, whether it be to accept the inspector of schools proposed by Laurier or the government programmes of study in the remaining Catholic independent schools. Towards the end of his long dissertation the archbishop pleaded "que Sa Sainteté unisse les Catholiques dans une reprobation unanime et formelle du Règlement néfaste, qu'Elle confirme et approve, la conduite tenue par l'Episcopat Canadien demandant une Loi Fédérale Remédiatrice."[47]

Merry de Val, too, had apparently decided to work outside the categories permitted under the compromise. He tried to meet with Laurier to discuss the seven points he had drawn up before Greenway arrived and negotiations would begin in earnest. His program entailed:

1. School districts to be so arranged especially in country localities as to group Catholic children together in sufficient numbers to enable them to have their own schools under Catholic control.

2. Books to be unobjectionable to Catholic ecclesiastical authority.

3. Catholic inspector to be named with the approval of the Archbishop.

4. The Archbishop to be "ex officio" a member of the Board of Education with the right of being represented by any person he may name. Another Catholic member.

5. Catholic examiners approved by the Archbishop for the examination of Catholic pupils.

6. Teachers who belong to religious communities and who are already engaged in teaching to be recognized as duly certificated teachers.

7. Catholics to benefit by their own taxes in localities in which the number of children is below the requirements of a duly constituted school and in which a school is being provided by private means.

> These concessions guaranteed in the manner suggested pending the possibility of a legislative measure entirely satisfactory to Catholic claims and leaving full freedom of action are calculated to determine a less hostile attitude on the part of the catholics.[48]

Another week passed without a meeting and the delegate became anxious to discuss the proposals with ministers of both the federal and Manitoba governments.[49] The meeting was finally arranged and the proposals presented. The nature of the discussion at this juncture is not recorded except that Greenway had given "les promesses et les assurances ... en votre [Laurier's] présence et en celle de M. Fitzpatrick de la façon la plus explicite," and had confirmed his assurance in writing to the delegate. By May 19, however, the letter had not been received, and Greenway seemed to be reneging or hedging, trying to modify his original verbal statement. The delegate viewed these manoeuvrings with a "grand déplaisir," and while not holding Laurier personally responsible declared that he considered "la question d'une solution pacifique terminée si je dois partir demain pour le Manitoba sans la déclaration signée de M. Greenway." Assertively he continued:

> Je ne puis assez déplorer les conséquences dont l'attitude énergique du S. Siège et de l'Episcopat tout entier peut être l'occasion sans en être la cause: J'ai tout fait pour l'éviter et je veux croire que vous avez fait de votre mieux pour l'éviter aussi. Mais quand l'inévitable est là ce serait faiblesse de ne pas l'affronter et c'est une faiblesse que l'Eglise ne connait pas plus au Canada qu'en Europe.[50]

What he did get was a copy of four resolutions sanctioned by Greenway after negotiating with Laurier. Greenway had agreed to resolutions that included neither tax support for private Catholic schools nor centralization of Catholic children under control of a local Catholic board.[51] Merry del Val thought the resolutions left much to be desired and wished to discuss them at a further meeting with Laurier. Greenway assured the prime minister that the resolutions would be passed by the Department of Education when the premier returned to Winnipeg.[52] Sir Oliver Mowat was hopeful that even the centralization of Catholic children would also be granted. Laurier assured the delegate that the Manitobans would return to Winnipeg to expedite matters. When Greenway left for New York, Merry del Val was annoyed: "Nous sommes arrivés maintenant au moment critique et que si ces dernières demandes n'aboutissent pas, la position prise à Rome sera péremptoire et cela sans un bref délai."[53] The delegate then proferred a few suggestions to Laurier for a letter he was writing to the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla.

Fitzpatrick returned on May 31 with the news that Laurier had refused to include Greenway's assurances given in the meeting that Laurier, Fitzpatrick, Greenway, and Merry del Val had attended. The papal delegate was shocked by Laurier's refusal and pleaded with the prime minister: "Je vous le demande comme un faveur toute personnelle afin de justifiés mes actions et sauvegarder ma position."[54] Laurier wrote Rampolla that a breakthrough had been achieved, and that negotiations were continuing with the Manitoba government.[55] But after the Manitobans returned home, there was no further action taken on the resolutions.

One more development complicated matters before the delegate returned to Rome. Ottawa wished to transfer to Manitoba's public schools $300,000, a sum derived from the sale of the province's Crown lands. Three influential Quebeckers requested the apostolic delegate to intervene on the grounds that the transfer of funds contravened the purpose of his presence in Canada, namely, to help settle the school question. By supporting the public schools with money from Ottawa, the federal government was, in fact, intimating that the question was already settled, even before the delegate had made his own report. There was enough truth in the charge to make the federal government pause.[56] There was more. Tarte had implied during a conversation with Bourassa that the money was part of the deal made with Sifton, now Minister of the Interior in the Laurier cabinet, as partial recompense for continuing negotiations after the Laurier-Greenway compromise had been enacted. Bourassa sought an explanation from Richard Cartwright, acting prime minister in Laurier's absence, but was stalled and asked to await Laurier's return. After all was said, nothing was done: the money remained in Ottawa until the next session of parliament.[57]

The School Question Before the Curia

The apostolic delegate was recalled on June 26. Cardinal Ledochowski reminded the Canadian bishops to remain silent until the encyclical letter was published and to direct all remarks pertaining to the school question to Rome.[58] But before the delegate had been recalled Reverend D.-C. Gonthier had been designated as the Quebec bishops' (and Langevin's) official representative in Rome. His first duty was to impress upon the Curia that a remedial law, in compliance with the Canadian constitution, was the most effective instrument to assure peace in Canada. His efforts were directed mainly at Cardinal Ledochowski and especially at Mgr. Cavagnis, Secretary for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, who would have to draw up the letter. Cavagnis thought it would be ready by late August or early September.[59]

In a paper entitled "Mémoire sur la question des écoles du Manitoba: L'origine de cette question," Gonthier outlined a conspiracy theory in three acts, which he sent to Cardinal Rampolla, hoping thereby to influence the conclusions in the encylical.[60] It was felt both in Rome and Canada that the primary causes of antagonism were English Protestant fanaticism and the divergent educational philosophies held by church and state. While conceding that both these causes were important, Gonthier felt that the principal cause was a political conspiracy between provincial and federal Liberals to oust the Conservatives from Ottawa by breaking the Catholic-Protestant alliance that had held the Conservatives together. The foremost among the conspirators was Sir Oliver Mowat.

The first act of Gonthier's drama opened by focussing attention on the incorporation of the Orange order in Ontario in 1886. The Mowat administration had instructed the lieutenant-governor not to sanction the bill but to reserve it for the governor-general's approval. The federal Liberals together with Catholic Conservatives would oppose the bill, thereby placing the John A. Macdonald government in a ticklish position. If the federal Conservatives could not agree to support the bill, Orange "fanatics" would split the party. Macdonald apparently saw through this plot and returned the bill to the Ontario government with the advice that only after the lieutenant-governor approved the bill and it was challenged would it become a problem for the federal government.

The second act was played out in the Jesuit Estates Bill of 1888. Laurier, Mowat, and Mercier supported the bill using the provincial rights cry as a smokescreen to undermine the unity of the Conservative party by allying themselves with the Catholics against the Orange clique in parliament. The Orange-inspired disallowance bill was rejected by Macdonald, without, however, disenchanting the Orange Protestant supporters of his party. He appealed to their religious tolerance and indicated how both the incorporation bill and the Jesuit bill were not constitutional issues with which parliament should become involved. "However, this time a small group of fanatics detached themselves on this occasion from the Conservative party and undertook the mission to combat with determination French and Catholic influence."[61]

The third act was played out in Manitoba where the conspiracy was eminently successful. The triumvirate of Mowat, Laurier, and Greenway agreed that Greenway, as leader of Manitoba Liberals, would outlaw the French language and denominational schools. They foresaw the resulting outcry of the Catholic minority and the consequent inescapable decision of the Conservatives to come to its aid, thus offending Protestants in English-speaking provinces. The rupture of the Conservative party would be complete. Not all Liberals were aware of this strategy and Laurier deliberately silenced the Liberal journal Patrie for protesting too forcibly against Greenway's provocation.[62] The ruse succeeded. How sincere then, Gonthier added, could Laurier be when he stated that he would redress Catholic grievances, since he and Mowat were the principal architects of the whole catastrophe?

Laurier had left for Europe in June to attend Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee celebrations. He accepted a knighthood and proceeded to France where he had a long vacation before appearing in Rome to be received in audience by the pope on August 12. He did not receive a pontifical decoration but had an unusually lengthy conversation with the pope, a fact that greatly disturbed the Quebec Catholic hierarchy. Gonthier was constrained to find out why this privilege had been accorded and not until August 31 could he report that preliminary discussions between Laurier, Ledochowski, and Cavagnis had consumed well over an hour while

> Enfin, le Pape lui [Laurier] a donné une audience de quinze à vingt minutes, en compagnie de sa femme et d'une autre dame et il s'est montré d'une grande amabilité pour les dames afin d'ôter à l'autre toute chance de parler d'affaires sérieuses. Et, afin qu'on ne put pas abuser de cette audience que l'on ne pouvait pas refuser, les journaux catholiques, contrairement à l'usage, ont reçu la consigne de n'en rien dire. Tous ces détails sont absolument surs: je ne les tiens pas de deuxième ni de troisième main.[63]

Nevertheless, Laurier obtained what he wanted - a one-month delay so that he could continue negotiations with Greenway.

On his return to Ottawa on August 29, 1897, Laurier met with Mgr. Bruchési, the recently consecrated Archbishop of Montreal, and presented him with the following concessions, the four points previously submitted by the Manitoba government to settle the school question: a Catholic inspector, Catholic textbooks like those approved for Catholic schools in Ontario, a place for the Archbishop of St. Boniface on the Advisory Board, and departmental examination of members of religious congregations in their own houses with a two-year extension to fulfil requirements for a provincial teaching certificate.[64] Bruchési refused to intervene; he had been a classmate of Langevin's at the Collège de Montréal and Langevin considered him a close friend. Langevin had assisted at Bruchési's consecration in Montreal, where he had remarked to Mgr. Laflèche: "La nomination de Mgr. Bruchési est un rayon de soleil à travers un ciel gros de nuages, et c'est une immense consolation pour nous tous."[65] It was with some misgivings, then, that having failed to win his support, Laurier anticipated Bruchési's *ad limina* visit to Rome.

In London it was publicly rumoured that a pontifical decision favourable to the federal Liberal party had been reached. Spurred on by the news, Bruchési travelled to Rome, met Gonthier, and began a round of visits to various Vatican officials. He did not press for a remedial law explicitly, but for a general statement of the constitutional rights of Catholics to their schools.[66] During two audiences with the pope, on November 8 and November 22, Bruchési was again requested to remain silent, but gained some advantage. He was assured that a French translation would be issued at the same time as the official Latin text was released and that the bishops could append their own commentaries. He was also asked to write Premier Marchand of Quebec to refrain from pressing for a Minister of Education in

Quebec to replace the Superintendent of Public Instruction.[67] Ledochowski, however, was preparing Langevin for the encyclical by urging him to consider the concessions that the Manitoba government was offering.[68]

Laurier dispatched Charles Russell once again to Rome. He did not receive an audience with the pope but made three requests of Cardinal Rampolla: to consider the concessions already made as a first step towards rendering justice to Catholics, to have the encyclical translated into English as well as French, and to have a permanent apostolic delegate assigned to Canada.[69] Meanwhile Bruchési was advised against visiting the Holy Land and to return to Canada since the encyclical was about to be released. It was signed on December 8, sent directly to Bégin in Quebec, and published in Rome on Christmas eve, 1897. Throughout these later negotiations Archbishop Langevin had kept silent; he had been ill with typhoid fever for several months—and confined to his bed.[70]

Affari Vos: An Encyclical

The encyclical *Affari vos* considered the 1890 Manitoba school legislation to be a "harmful law." It complimented the Canadian bishops for protesting openly against an unjust law:

> Dissimulari tamen id quod res est, non potest: quam legem ad sarcienda damna condidere, ea manca est, non idonea, non apta. Multo maiora sunt, quae catholici petunt, quaeque eos iure petere, nemo neget.[71]

In an optimistic vein the encyclical was confident that one day Manitoba's Catholics would have "full satisfaction." It urged a conciliatory attitude towards persons who were disposed to mitigate present circumstances. The Canadian educational system was praised and Catholic schools were encouraged to develop excellence in curricula, teachers, and methods.

> Scholas enim catholicorum rectum est cum florentissimis quibusque de cultura ingeniorum, de litterarum laude, posse contendere. Si eruditio si decus humanitatis quaeritur, honestum sane ac nobile iudicandum Provinciarum Canadensium propositum, augere ac provehere pro viribus expetentium disciplinam institutionis publicam, quo politius quotidie ac perfectius quiddam contingat. Atque nullum est genus scientiae, nulla elegantia doctrinae, quae non optime possit cum doctrina atque institutione catholica consistere.[72]

No mention was made of a remedial law.

To accompany publication of the encyclical in Canada, Mgr. O'Brien of Halifax proposed that a collective pastoral letter be circulated with it. This proposal was adopted and the draft drawn by Mgr. Bruchési was chosen. It referred to a recent encyclical, previously circulated to the bishops of Austria, Germany, and Switzerland, entitled *Militantis Ecclesiae*. Among other things it urged that religion be taught to children at certain hours during the day and that all education be inspired by Christian principles.[73] Bruchési's draft also argued that the Laurier-Greenway compromise could not be a final solution because of the pejorative references made to it in *Affari vos*. Bégin circulated Bruchési's mandement and it was accepted by all bishops in Quebec, except Mgr. Emard of Valleyfield, and by all Maritime bishops. Mgrs. Cleary and Walsh in Ontario indicated they would issue their own mandement individually but would refer to the Quebec and Maritime bishops' response.[74]

There were some anxious moments in Rome while the Vatican awaited reaction to the encyclical. Gonthier felt the pope wanted a collective letter from the Canadian Catholic hierarchy expressing its appreciation for the encyclical; this letter was duly provided by Mgr. Bégin on behalf of the entire Canadian episcopate.[75] But the mandement circulated with the encyclical, while not condemned by Rome, was reported to have made Pope Leo XIII angry.[76] Since it was Rome that had spoken, Langevin's first reaction was to assert firm compliance with the encyclical's exhortations: "Les gouvernements trouveront toujours en nous l'esprit de conciliation allié à l'inflexibilité des principes, quand ils nous aborderont avec son désir sincère de nous secourir dans notre détresse."[77]

Summary

Langevin's conciliatory attitude in response to Affari vos was not materially different from his reaction to Laurier's electoral victory in 1896: In both instances he evinced a willingness to negotiate. After assuming office, Laurier failed to set up the commission of inquiry he had promised and instead sent Israel Tarte and Henri Bourassa to query the archbishop. After a series of meetings, Tarte indicated that Langevin was coming around to a more moderate position, but Bourassa thought Langevin impulsive and intransigent. Perhaps to strengthen the archbishop's resolve, members of the French- and English-Canadian Catholic hierarchy urged Langevin to take a tough stand against Ottawa during negotiations. After the Laurier-Greenway compromise was reached, Ledochowski urged Langevin to show even stronger opposition. Langevin was conciliatory to the extent that he continually endorsed a remedial bill which allowed parents the freedom to choose the kind of publicly supported schools they desired for their children. He was steadfast in opposing any measure which sanctioned solely "neutral" schools.

Langevin received an "apostolic benediction" from Rome and a visit from a papal ablegate, Merry del Val, whose job was to make the Laurier-Greenway settlement "tolérable." The "national" educational system of Nova Scotia was considered a suitable compromise for Manitoba, but the ablegate devised a system that included a tax-supported Catholic system under its own school boards. This alternative created friction between Merry del Val and the Canadian prime minister and strained their working relationship considerably. The delegate was undoubtedly sympathetic to Catholic aspirations for Manitoba. Whatever the nature of del Val's report to the Curia, Laurier lobbied successfully, for the encyclical avoided any direct reference to federal remedial legislation. Affari vos did not condemn the Manitoba School Act but merely considered it to be a "harmful law." It also lauded the bishops for their opposition, praised the Canadian school system, and urged conciliation on all parties. However, it did defuse a potentially volatile situation by laying the groundwork for continued secret negotiations in the future.

The sole difference between del Val and Langevin was their methods, not their goals. Both would have a complete Catholic school system, Langevin through implementation of a remedial bill and del Val through a tripartite agreement among Laurier, Greenway, and himself. Both these alternatives were rejected and no final accord was apparently reached before the apostolic delegate was recalled. Laurier claimed before the Curia that ~~the~~ 1896 compromise was but a prelude to further concessions.

The Canadian Catholic hierarchy, anticipating perhaps an innocuous encyclical, had prepared its own document, which apparently upset the pope. Langevin responded affirmatively to the injunction of _Affari vos_: he would continue to negotiate, fighting for what he considered to be the minority's legal rights.

1. Langevin papers, QS, undated and unsigned. No record of the discussion between Leo XIII and Archbishop Langevin has been found.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Quoted in Clark, *op. cit.*, 211-12, Tarte to Laurier, November 8, 1896.

4. Rumilly, *Henri Bourassa*, 34.

5. Shaw, *op. cit.*, 323.

6. Langevin papers, DH, Walsh to Laflèche, November 11, 1896.

7. *Ibid.*, DH, Walsh to Langevin, November 11, 1896.

8. *Ibid.*, DH, Cleary to Laflèche, November 14, 1896.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Clark, *op. cit.*, 213-14.

11. Langevin papers, DH, Bennett to Langevin, November 26, 1896. A newspaper clipping is attached to this letter containing the quotation.

12. Quoted in Clark, *op. cit.*, 214.

13. An Act to amend "The Public Schools Act," 60 Vic., Cap. 26. See Appendix A.

14. Quoted in Savaète, *Ecoles Du Nord-Ouest Canadien*, 233, November 24, 1896.

15. Langevin papers, DH, November 1896.

16. In translation: "evince strong opposition...and state that you cannot accept anything which is not in accord with the Constitution and the Decision of the Queen's Privy Council." Quoted in Savaète, *op. cit.*, 236.

17. M. Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760-1967*, 2 vols. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1970), I, 437.

18. *Ibid.*, 439.

19. Charland, "L'Encyclique 'Affari Vos' de Leo XIII à l'épiscopat canadien," 14-15.

20. Wade, *loc. cit.*

21. Langevin papers, DH, Dawson to Langevin, January 27, 1897.

22. *Ibid.*, DH, Lady Aberdeen to Langevin, January 11, 1897.

23. *Ibid.*, DH, "Audience Du Saint Père," 26 Janvier, 1897.

24. Charland, *op. cit.*, 15. Charland reproduces a conversation overheard in the Canadian College in Rome on the meeting between Charles Fitzpatrick and Pope Leo XIII:

Fitzpatrick - Très Saint Père, sous l'administration Mercier, nous avons restitué les biens des Jesuites.

Le Pape Leo XIII - Très bien, mon fils, continuez alors à servir l'Eglise comme vous le faisiez sous monsieur Mercier. Rendez aux catholiques du Manitoba leurs écoles. Tenez, j'ai là, sur ma table, une lettre que je destiné aux évêques du Canada pour les encourager à défendre leurs droits.

Ibid., Lindsay to Gonthier, 16 février, 1897.

25. *Ibid.*, Formal announcement of the delegate's appointment was made on February 24, 1897.

26. Langevin papers, DH, Dawson to Langevin, February 19, 1897.

27. Turenne, *op. cit.*, 41.

28. Langevin papers, C, Genin to Langevin, February 22, 1897.

29. *Ibid.*, QS 1894-6.

30. Greenway papers, Laurier to Greenway, February 26, 1897.

31. *The Canada Gazette*, Ottawa, March 25, 1897.

32. Langevin papers, DH, Dawson to Langevin, March 15, 1897.

33. *Ibid.*, DH, same to same, March 14, 1897.

34. *Ibid.*, DH, same to same, March 15, 1897.

35. *Ibid.*, DH, same to same, March 20, 1897.

36. *Ibid.*, DH, same to same, March 18, 1897.

37. *Ibid.*, DH, same to same, March 15, 1897.

38. Charland, *op. cit.*, 16.

39. Langevin papers, DH, Monk to Langevin and *ibid.*, Bernier to Langevin, March 31, 1897.

40. *Ibid.*, DH, Merry del Val to Langevin, March 30, 1897.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*, DH, Dawson to Langevin, April 5, 1897.

43. *Ibid.*, DH, LaRivière to Langevin, [n.d.], 1897.

44. *Ibid.*, DH, Mémoire sur la situation religieuse, April 12, 1897.

45. Langevin papers [...], Langevin to Merry del Val, [n.d.], 1897. Langevin's underlining. The letter was written and sent while the apostolic delegate was in Canada.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. Laurier papers, "Memo," Merry del Val to Laurier, April 24, 1897. Worded as in the original.

49. *Ibid.*, same to same, May 3, 1897.

50. *Ibid.*, same to same, May 19, 1897. On May 11, the Liberal party won the Quebec provincial election. There does not seem to be any connection between this fact and Greenway's reluctance to confirm his promises in writing.

51. Sissons, *Church and State in Canadian Education*, 198.

52. Greenway papers, Greenway to Laurier, May 20, 1897.

53. Laurier papers, Merry del Val to Laurier, May 22, 1897.

54. *Ibid.*, same to same, May 31, 1897.

55. Groulx, *L'Enseignement Français au Canada*, 126.

56. Langevin papers, DH, Lettre à Son Excellence Mgr. R. Merry del Val, June 14, 1897. They were the Hon. T.C. Casgrain, M.P., Isidore Belleau and J.A. Charlebois.

57. Rumilly, *op. cit.*, 43-4.

58. Langevin papers, DH, Ledochowski to Langevin, June 26, 1897.

59. Charland, *op. cit.*, 13. See also, Gonthier to Mon très cher ami, in *Langevin papers*, C, June 14, 1897.

60. Groulx, "Documents Inedits: Mémoire Sur La Question Des Ecoles Du Manitoba: L'Origine De Cette Question," 440-2.

61. *Ibid.*, 442.

62. *Ibid.* A similar conclusion regarding the "third act" is found in Clague, *op. cit.*, 296.

63. Quoted in Charland, *op. cit.*, 19, Gonthier to Rouleau, August 31, 1897.

64. *Ibid.*, 20.

65. Quoted in Morice, *op. cit.*, 171, Langevin to Laflèche, July 22, 1897.

66. Langevin papers, DH, November 2, 1897.

67. Charland, *op. cit.*, 21.

68. Langevin papers, DH, Ledochowski to Langevin, October 10, 1897. "Singulari modo Amplitudinem Tuam Sacra Congregatio adhortatur, ut prae oculis semper habeas quae Summus Pontifex in praefatis litteris praecepit circa acceptationem partialium concessionum quas auctoritas civilis proponere forte voluerit in favorem catholicorum (*ibid.*)" In translation: "The sacred Congregation earnestly urges Your Grace to keep in mind what the Holy Father recommended in previous letters on accepting partial concessions which the government might strongly propose to benefit Catholics."

69. Charland, *op. cit.*, 22.

70. Morice, *Vie de Mgr. Langevin*, 172.

71. "Epistola Encyclica Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Leonis Papae XII et Ordinarios phoederatarum civitatum Canadensium quoad puerorum scholas," in *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, 1897-8, 360. In translation: "We cannot, however, hide the truth: the law which has been formulated as a remedy is defective, imperfect and inadequate. Catholics ask much more, as nobody doubts, they have a right to" *Education: Papal Teachings*, 139.

72. *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, 1897-8, 361. In translation: "It is appropriate that Catholic schools should hold their own with the best, both in the excellence of methods of formation and in the quality of teaching. From the point of view of intellectual formation and the progress of civilization, one cannot but find good and noble the plan conceived by the Canadian provinces to develop public instruction, to raise its standards and to bring it closer to perfection by constant improvement. Now, there is no kind of study, no progress in human knowledge which may not fully harmonize with Catholic doctrine." *Education: Papal Teachings*, 140-1.

73. Education: Papal Teachings, 129-135.

74. Charland, op. cit., 23.

75. Ibid., 25.

76. Langevin papers, LB 14, Langevin to Grenier, February 27, 1911.

77. Ibid., LB 1, Langevin to Ledochowski, January 18, 1898.

CHAPTER III

TOWARDS THE MANITOBA ELECTION OF 1899

Langevin and Laurier: An Impasse

After a few more days contemplating the encyclical Archbishop Langevin considered it a "manifique document" and acknowledged that he might have to change his style:

> Si le pape veut les concessions ou les réparations partielles qui concernent les livres, l'école normale française, la nomination d'un catholique comme membre de l'Advisory Board, et l'inspecteurs catholiques, il faudra bien modifier ma manière de faire et travailler loyalement dans ce sens.[1]

Langevin had been specifically enjoined by the Vatican to be conciliatory and, recognizing that he could go no further than his pope in protecting the faithful, made his submission:

> Je ne veux pas dire un mot ni faire un pas, contre la volonté de notre chef suprême, et je veux au contraire me soumettre à toutes les humiliations et m'imposer les plus grands sacrifices pour me conformer scrupuleusement à toutes ses instructions en cette matière.[2]

Langevin planned to seek more guidance from his fellow bishops in the east after which he would speak with Laurier. He realized his reputation in Rome was low and needed refurbishing not for personal ends but "pour continuer comme par le passé à agir en évêque."[3] The archbishop was becoming more conscious of the strain on his ultramontane sympathies.

On January 29, 1898, he met in Montreal with Laurier and Bruchési, recently returned from Europe. Laurier advanced six propositions, fully endorsed by Langevin: that the Archbishop of St. Boniface, or his substitute, be a member of the Advisory Board; that he be represented on the board of examiners; that an inspector be appointed on approval by the archbishop; that teaching diplomas (permits) not be required immediately from members of religious congregations; that textbooks be the same as those in Ontario separate schools and be approved in the same way; and that the New Brunswick or Nova Scotia school system be adopted wherein children were separated according to their religion.[4] Bruchési inquired as to the nature of the guarantees supporting these concessions and Laurier is reported to have accepted both the need for legislation and the fact that it would have to be postponed.[5]

A second meeting was arranged in Ottawa and this time Clifford Sifton was present at Langevin's request. The prelate described the first meeting in Montreal, Laurier acknowledged it, Sifton made a couple of negative remarks about the concessions but was non-commital. Langevin thought him "bien disposé." A third meeting in Ottawa ensued. This time the Rev. Mr. Bryce, member of the Winnipeg school board, was present, again at Langevin's request. Bryce raised objections to religious education, Catholic books, and a Catholic normal school and proposed using the public school's Manitoba Readers with any offensive or anti-Catholic sections deleted. Langevin refused; he would not accept "des livres neutres." A fourth meeting was arranged but since Laurier could not attend Langevin left for St. Boniface on February 14. A fortnight of fruitless negotiations led to bitter complaints to Rome against fanatical Protestants, especially Bryce, and mild expostulations against Laurier's ineffectiveness:

> Je suis convaincu après avoir conféré avec les vénérables archevêques de Québec, de Montréal, d'Ottawa et d'Halifax, que Sir W. Laurier est assez puissant à Ottawa pour faire adopter une loi fédérale remédiatrice nous rendant pour toujours la plenitude de nos droits scolaires, je ne puis m'empêcher d'exprimer à Votre Saintité le regret sincère pour ce grand homme d'état ne juge pas le moment oportun [sic] de nous donner cette loi.[6]

The remedial law was not on Laurier's mind when he asked Greenway to start immediate action on the "Administrative reforms and the School law" that had been discussed with Bryce in Ottawa. The Manitoba government was anxious to receive its school grant from the sale of Crown lands, which because of criticism the previous year had been shelved, and Laurier was using the grant as a lever to get quick action on the school problem. He advised Greenway that "with a little 'give and take' on both sides, we can come to a satisfactory solution."[7] The Manitoba government proposed that Catholic schools could receive both the government and municipal grants on the condition that Catholic teachers become duly certificated and allow an inspector to visit the schools.[8] The Ottawa Free Press announced that the archbishop was pleased with the arrangement and would accept a place on the Advisory Board for himself or his representative.[9]

The Conservative response from Ottawa was immediate and critical. Senator Bernier complained that Langevin assured him personall[illegible]at he would not accept a position on the Advisory Board.[10] Eight leading Quebec Conservatives signed a letter complaining that the Liberals were using the new accord in the Quebec provincial by-election of Bagot. Langevin was reminded that any concessions made by the Manitoba government and accepted by the Catholic minority should not prejudice their efforts in parliament to obtain legal guarantees to protect minority rights.

Any succeeding Manitoba government could simply revoke arrangements made by a previous administration and leave the minority at the mercy of the provincial government forever.[11] At the same time, the federal Minister of Finance, W.S. Fielding, gave notice of motion to advance federal monies to the public schools in Manitoba.[12]

Negotiations on financial support of Catholic schools between the archbishop and the Winnipeg public school board began on March 28. Langevin was asked to estimate the number of pupils and the value of Catholic school property in Winnipeg. He was informed that if the value of the property was not above $72,000 it could be rented for $3,500 annually including new construction and repairs where necessary.[13] He was also informed that during the next session of the legislature the Manitoba government would extend grants to many rural public schools where Catholic children predominated. A position on the Advisory Board was his for the asking, but Langevin refused it. All these negotiations preyed on Langevin's soul: "Je préférerais la mort à une vie humilié" but he persevered because "le pape parle et nous dit de ne pas refuser des réparations partielles."[14]

"Rien n'est reglée," Langevin reassured the Conservatives in Ottawa, "nous continuons de réclamer tous nos droits." But when he tried to convene the episcopate for another meeting he was dissuaded by Mgrs. Bégin and Walsh. This refusal may have triggered the following assessment of the Canadian confederation:

> Si la Constitution [est] violée impieusement, si les catholiques et les Canadiens-Français restent victimes du fanatisme protestant, la Conféderation est ébranlée jusque dans ses fondements, et notre influence religieuse et nationale reçoit un coup mortel.
>
> Ontario donnera la main au Manitoba et à deux ... autres provinces protestantes de l'ouest ... écraser le pauvre Québec qui restera toujours avec son nombre finie de deputées.[16]

The national perspective was a constant phenomenon in the archbishop's thinking; it was more than academic curiosity. And since Rome could affect that perspective, on April 11, 1898, Langevin departed for Europe and did not return until August 24.

Langevin in Rome: A Papal Letter

In Rome Langevin received an audience with the pope and this time was able to secure a papal letter clearly favouring his modus operandi in Canada.[17] The archbishop had been forewarned by Gonthier to be wary of the "coterie del Val: ... le S. Père ne voit rien ni n'entend rien que par Merry del Val." The reason Mgr. del Val was not having his way entirely on the Canadian question, Gonthier confided, was because of the solidarity of the Canadian episcopate in their dealings with the Vatican. Merry del Val had accused Langevin in particular "de duplicité et de foucherie," accusations that Gonthier was willing to corroborate through a mutual friend. Merry del Val, according to Gonthier, had clearly taken the side of Laurier and the Liberals and needed close watching.[18]

The pope's letter reserved "toute votre liberté d'action pour la revendication de vos droits" and acknowledged that "vous avez déjà commencé à tirer parti des diverses concessions." While the only apparent difficulty still outstanding was the matter of textbooks for

Catholic schools, the pope expressed the hope that those in power "ne vous feront pas défaut sur ce point, dont Nous reconnaissons l'importance pour assurer à vos écoles une atmosphere catholique."[19]

Debate with Provincial and Federal Liberals

While Langevin was in Europe Rev. A. Cherrier, his most trusted associate, substituted in on-going negotiations with Ottawa. Cherrier's memoir and accompanying letter outlined in point form the history of the Manitoba school question and then challenged the kinds of concessions that the Ottawa and Manitoba governments had granted. The appointment of a Catholic member to the Advisory Board had already been turned down by Mgr. Taché in 1890; the Department of Education had required certificates of all teachers since 1890; Catholic teachers had been allowed to teach in schools populated entirely by Catholic children; French books were always used in French schools and there was nothing in the law to prohibit their use; there was a French inspector only recently appointed; and as for setting up normal departments in the French-English schools, plans were now ready to implement them and there was nothing in the law to prevent their establishment. Consequently, Cherrier argued, the first four items could hardly be classed as concessions although the last two "came nearer the line." What was needed was a complete set of "Catholic french books ... besides the bilingual textbooks in the french-english schools." Likewise Catholic-English readers and history and geography texts written from a Catholic viewpoint should be used by Catholic school children. The current texts were "too secular." Another Catholic inspector, who could double as a professor at the normal school, should be appointed for the city of Winnipeg exclusively. These criticisms and suggestions were considered by Laurier who invited Cherrier to discuss them with Bryce.[20]

To complicate matters the Vicar-General of St. Boniface Archdiocese, Rev. N.J. Ritchot, issued a circular that forbade the signing of the oath required by the Department of Education.[21] Every teacher in Manitoba's public schools had to sign the oath before the provincial grant was transferred to the local school board.[22] From 1892 to 1894 the oath read:

> I .... Teacher of the School District of .... Number .... in the Municipality of .... in the Province of Manitoba do solemnly declare:
>
> 1. (a) That the Trustees of the said school have directed that the religious exercises prescribed by the advisory board be used in said school and that the said religious exercises, and none other, have accordingly been used in said school.
>
> 1. (a) That the trustees of said school have not directed that any religious exercises be used in said school and accordingly none have been used therein.
>
> 2. That the record of attendance of pupils, and other information herein furnished is correct and true to the best of my knowledge and belief and I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true and by virtue of the "Act Respecting Extra Judicial Oaths."[23]

Then in 1894 everything in subsection 2 after the word "conscientiously" was omitted and the following inserted: "believing it to be true and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of 'The Canada Evidence Act, 1893'." The effect of this amendment was to increase the penalty if a teacher swore a false oath.

Archbishop Langevin authorized Rev. Father Cherrier to negotiate with Manitoba's attorney-general, A.D. Cameron, to ease the stringent terms contained in the oath. Prime Minister Laurier had commissioned

Clifford Sifton to participate also and the three principals met in Winnipeg after a preliminary meeting in Kenora, Ontario, between Cherrier and Sifton. According to Cherrier a new formula was drawn up that was acceptable to all parties, but when it was published in 1899 it turned out to be more restrictive than the previous one, forbidding not only religious exercises but also religious teaching during the school day.[26] Cherrier was utterly bewildered by this unexpected turn of events but refrained from bitter recriminations. When Langevin heard in August 1898 of Cherrier's apparently successful negotiations, he confidently remarked, "cette modification nous permettre de retirer des millions de piastres et produire un grand soulagement dans le pays."[27] Even so, he had to wait until 1901, when a new government gave him the formula he wanted.

Cherrier also consulted Cameron on the contentious matter of textbooks for use in public schools. He could see no difficulty in having Catholic texts in schools where children were predominantly Catholic. He had examined three of the five readers that the Department of Education had approved for the schools and complained that two others had been approved without his knowledge: "ought you not to give a liberal consideration to our religious liberty, and our conscientious objection to the use of books that we have not even had an opportunity to examine!"[28] Cameron's answer, according to Langevin, was "arrangez-vous avec vos livres et le reste, nous vous laisserons tranquilles pourvu que personne ne proteste."[29] The books, both authorized and unauthorized, used in the French schools of Manitoba as a result of these decisions were:

Les livres de lecture de Montpetit.
La grammaire des Frères.
L'histoire sainte.
Le Devoir du chretien.
Les livres de lecture de Sadlier.
La grammaire anglaise de West.
L'arithmétique de Kirkland and Scott en anglais
et en français.
Dans quelques écoles, les livres bilingues.[30]

As soon as Archbishop Langevin returned to Canada, Prime Minister Laurier despatched Charles Fitzpatrick to Rome, ostensibly to keep the Vatican abreast of developments in Canada.[31] At the same time the prime minister wrote Merry del Val that although the school question was "parfaitement reglée" he would continue to work for the betterment of the Catholic minority in Manitoba. Not aware of the tacit understanding between Cherrier and Cameron, Laurier thought the dispute over English, French, and bilingual texts was resolved and informed Cherrier that both the "Devoir du Chretien" and Sadlier's English texts were unacceptable for public school use because of their doctrinal character. Nevertheless, he intended to approach the Manitoba authorities to extend the use of present texts for the next two years. Only authorized English texts were acceptable, he added, because Langevin had made intemperate public remarks that the school question was "non reglé," forcing negotiations to end. He was confident, however, that negotiations would resume and the textbook issue would be resolved. The matter of the oath, too, would be settled by changing its form. Laurier's assessment of the situation was that "les authorites civiles sont bien disposées mais malheureusement, les autorités religieuses ne veulent pas le croire, et tant que cette défiance existera, il y a toujours à craindre des dissidences et de conflits." He had discussed these and related questions with Mgr. Bruchési and they agreed that the presence of a pontifical delegate was absolutely essential. He concluded by recommending prelates to the vacant sees of Toronto and Trois-Rivières.[32]

Langevin saw things in a very different light. He wrote Pope Leo XIII that he had been approached by politicians, both local and federal, including Laurier, to tone down his opposition because there were provincial and federal elections in the offing. Liberals across Canada objected to his criticisms on the school question because they were public, although Langevin had not intended to offend any particular party. He complained that Laurier had opted for neutral books and consequently for neutral schools. Laurier's program would lead ultimately to the demise of all Catholic schools that still existed in the countryside.[33]

Inspector Rochon and School Problems

As vexed as the archbishop was with the unsatisfactory state of Catholic schools in Manitoba, there was one person in the province, Inspector Rochon, whom he came to dislike almost as much as Premier Greenway himself. In fulfilling one element of the compromise, Laurier in 1897 had, without Langevin's approval, designated Theophile Rochon, a resident of Ottawa and an acquaintance of Mgr. Duhamel, Archbishop of Ottawa, to be the Catholic inspector in Manitoba. To the Northwest Review, a Catholic paper, he was decidedly unwelcome: "He will find the doors of our schools closed against him. So long as we receive no government allowance, we will submit to no government inspection."[34] With time Langevin's attitude towards the inspector became ambivalent:

Rochon was "a good Catholic and well-disposed" but "indiscreet" because he spoke his mind freely, even about his meetings with the archbishop.[35] "Ne me faites pas désespérer de vous," Langevin cuationed Rochon, "que je crois intelligent, religieux et sincère à cause d'une incurable indiscretion."[36]

In his dealings with Inspector Rochon, Langevin admitted that he was dissatisfied with his services and had recommended his replacement by the Rev. Father Cherrier, but Rochon had demonstrated his usefulness and Langevin recommended his advancement to the position of "Superintendent of the English-French schools of Winnipeg." The archbishop felt that Laurier could get the appointment "bien facilement" for Rochon. Almost as an afterthought he added, "Le clergé ici restera neutre aux prochaines élections."[37]

Langevin's instructions to Rochon were clear: he wanted a union of school districts, namely, St. Boniface West with St. Vital West; he wanted the Sadlier texts in all schools; and although he did not like bilingual texts in place of purely Catholic ones, he would tolerate them if they were already used in the schools.[38] Langevin thought the salaries of non-professional teachers were somewhat high and asked Rochon to advise the school trustees of this fact; he did not wish to see classes where boys and girls were taught together; he was opposed to non-Catholic teachers being hired for Catholic schools. Rochon was also queried whether the half-hour of religious instruction could be given at a time other than 3:30 p.m. The mind of the archbishop was clear and the inspector was expected to comply with it.[39]

In his exhortations to members of a Winnipeg Catholic school committee, the prelate reminded them that nothing had changed since 1890 except that Catholics had been given some leeway regarding books and their schools would receive a government grant. He intended to direct Cherrier and the president of the Catholic committee to approach the Winnipeg public school board to negotiate the rent of Catholic schools and payment of Catholic teachers.[40] Langevin also informed his priests that teachers could conduct prayers before and after classes, and that it was the teacher's duty to speak about religion, dogma, and morals "lorsque l'occasion s'en présentera." Above all no permit could be issued by the government to incompetent teachers, who had to be weeded out. "Gardons bien ce que nous avons," he warned, "et préparons la population à le défendre avec nous jusqu'à la mort."[41]

Money was in short supply to meet the growing needs of the Catholic parochial system. Public grants had been doled out in the rural areas where schools were in effect public and Catholic, but financial pressures were heaviest in urban centres such as Winnipeg, Brandon, Portage la Prairie, and Selkirk. The archbishop was also in debt because of legal expenses, (estimated at $13,000) incurred since 1890. Even the prime minister was solicited and sent his donation, promising to add more. Winnipeg's Catholic school trustees arranged their first public meeting on September 22 to raise funds for their schools and the archbishop gave his firm support to their endeavour. He recommended that resolutions be passed asserting that the school question was not settled. However, he wanted to avoid any political overtones and cautioned the trustees not to offend either the provincial or federal governments. He was pleased that the trustees were willing to put themselves on record as being in favour of Catholic schools.[42] Langevin estimated it would take $6,000 to keep the schools afloat for another year.[43]

Because the provincial government's grant was tied to the teachers oath, Langevin got the Catholic archbishops of Canada at their November meeting to press for modification of the oath. While all gave their assent, some reportedly gave it grudgingly. Langevin had seen a draft of the new formula prohibiting both religious exercises and religious instruction and warned Catholic trustees not to allow their teachers to sign.[44] Cardinal Ledochowski was subsequently consulted to render a verdict; an answer had to be forwarded before the end of December, because signing the oath would benefit Catholic public schools to the extent of 60,000-70,000 francs (i.e., $12,000-$14,000).[45] Ledochowski brought the matter to the immediate attention of the pope, who gave his approval.[46] Laurier had learned that certain "minority schools" were not receiving the provincial grant and asked Langevin to reconsider his proscription. He guessed correctly that Rome would not block the provincial grant on account of the oath, and Langevin freed the trustees to allow their teachers to sign.[47] The delay in signing, however, posed no real hardship since rural schools got their grant even when trustees had failed to submit the signed oaths. In urban areas, however, Catholic schools continued to experience financial difficulties.[48]

All Catholic schools were to be staffed by Catholic teachers and Langevin expected normal school courses in St. Boniface to begin in the spring of 1898.[49] He soon learned that a normal school session would begin on the time agreed upon but the place and instructors would be ifferent. A.L. Young, whose negative attitude towards Catholic schools had previously alienated the archbishop, was appointed professor for the St. Boniface Normal School. Moreover the lectures would not take place in a convent, but in a Winnipeg school. Langevin boycotted the whole project, even though it was under the supervision of Inspector Rochon and was designed for French students: it was not according to the agreement worked out between the archbishop, the prime minister, and the representatives of the Manitoba government.[50] Langevin directed Rochon to see what could be done, but the only change made by Dr. E.A. Blakely, chief clerk of the Department of Education, was to place practice teaching in St. Boniface's French schools.[51] Langevin reproached Rochon, who knew that the archbishop had a French candidate in mind for the teaching office in the normal school.[52] A week later, however, the archbishop noted with some satisfaction that the normal school course was proceeding well under the bilingual professor Young.[53]

While reasonably satisfied with the normal school, the archbishop was displeased by other aspects of the compromise. Langevin personally refused to become a member of the Advisory Board but informed Laurier that S.A.D. Bertrand, a Liberal and working associate of the archbishop, would serve if nominated.[54] Langevin approached Sifton and Cameron about the appointment but nothing came of it.[55] Sporadic attempts by Laurier and Langevin failed to seat a Catholic on the Advisory Board until Bertrand was eventually appointed in 1899, a few months before the Greenway government was defeated.

Perhaps the absence of a member on the Board was most keenly felt in the continuing uncertainty over the kinds of books that would be approved for public schools. The hope that Inspector Rochon would be appointed assistant-superintendent of Winnipeg schools and given discretion to choose books for the Catholic schools never materialized.[56] The first clear indication that the Advisory Board might consent to Catholic textbooks came when the Gilmour Readers were pronounced excellent by a member of the Board and were subsequently translated into French under Langevin's supervision.[57] The archbishop believed that when the Catholic texts were approved and the religious licensed as professional teachers, the Winnipeg Board of Education would rent the Catholic schools and pay the teachers without violating the integrity of the Catholic school.[58] The question, however, could not be settled in the summer of 1899, ostensibly because the Rev. Mr. Bryce was in Europe. Subsequently, Buckley and Robertson's history and the Victorian Readers were deemed unsuitable by the archbishop. When Ontario's Canadian Catholic Readers were brought to his attention, the archbishop approved them and requested Laurier to press for their adoption by the Advisory Board.[59] At the turn of the century, however, the textbook issue remained unresolved.

Langevin's attempt to have Rochon appointed to the Winnipeg board was unsuccessful, even though the inspector did useful work for the Catholic minority.[60] He had helped to set up school districts for French-speaking residents of the province and his services had been offered by Langevin to Dr. Blakeley to set up the first school district for the "Galician" immigrants in Sifton. The archbishop had informed the Department of Education that these people were Catholics of the Greek rite and were his responsibility; furthermore, they were entitled to a Catholic school.[61] He learned that their educational needs were being temporarily supervised by an immigration agent but that the local population would be free to establish their own organization at the earliest opportunity.[62] Rochon had also been designated a director of the St. Boniface Normal School and had prepared a syllabus of studies for the French students.[63] In these instances the inspector was an asset to French Catholic education in Manitoba.

Throughout the year 1899, however, relations between the inspector and the archbishop deteriorated to the point where Rochon was finally removed from office. Langevin was decidedly unhappy with the interpretation placed upon the phrase "religious teaching," which in effect excluded all direct references to religion outside the ten commandments that could be taught during regular school hours. It was Rochon's fault, Langevin explained to Laurier, that this interpretation was promulgated; its effect would be to render all schools neutral: "Je signale cette incident qui m'a couté de mortelles angoises." Not only were the schools in danger, but now it was rumoured that Rochon wanted to resign "pour entrer dans l'arène politique!" Under the circumstances Langevin wanted Rochon's resignation. As a replacement he recommended H. Mangan, whose competence was vouched for by l'abbé Rouleau, Principal of l'Ecole Normale de Québec.[64] Laurier was non-committal: Rochon liked his work and Laurier was unwilling to force the inspector's hand. If Rochon resigned then Laurier would recall him to Ontario or Quebec and recommend Mangan to Manitoba's attorney-general. Beyond that he would not go.[65]

In July Rochon defended himself from the accusation that he had maligned the bishops by declaring them deluded on matters pertaining to the school question. The fact that he had unified the school districts of St. Boniface West and St. Vital West into one entity indicated his compliance with the previously expressed wish of the archbishop and attested to his good faith.[66] But in August Langevin accused the inspector of being lax in straightening out the agitation in St. Claude. The separate school there was fenced in by public school supporters, even though it was on church property and belonged to the archiepiscopal corporation of St. Boniface. The local M.L.A. intervened to Langevin's satisfaction, but Rochon had not appeared and the archbishop was displeased: "vous me fait une peine énorme."[67] When a provincial Conservative government came to power in December, Rochon's position became untenable and Langevin wrote his uncle, Mgr. Racicot, in Quebec that he needed a new inspector: "Rochon est destitué."[68] Laurier correctly expected he would not be consulted on Rochon's successor and the provincial government appointed R. Goulet, a Catholic Metis, "on the simple request of Mgr. Langevin."[69]

Re-Opening the School Question at the Federal Level

Reports on the status of the French language in Western Canada had not been good. Alarming news reached St. Boniface from Edmonton and Calgary that children in school were losing what remained of it as good French teachers were hard to find and the Territorial government refused to establish normal schools and to appoint a French-speaking inspector. The entire situation, according to Langevin, was Laurier's fault who would "laisser mourir le Français sous son règne!!"[70] The archbishop had not made the Manitoba school question a political issue since Rome had declared a moratorium on public debate, but he nevertheless threatened Laurier with an open letter to the governor-general if Liberal politicians persisted in stating that the question was closed. Again he referred to the "federal pact and the constitution" as guaranteeing minority rights in Canada.[71] Some respite seemed possible in the Northwest Territories in December 1898 when concessions regarding French books, a French-speaking inspector, and normal school training for religious were discussed.[72] No changes followed, however, and Langevin despaired.

On March 20, 1899 Langevin re-opened the Manitoba school question by circulating a letter on the state of the question to leading members of the federal government and to his suffragans.[73] The leader of the federal opposition, Sir Charles Tupper, asked about the letter in the House on March 21 and Laurier's reply on the next day was to adjourn debate on the matter. The letter outlined the grievances that were still outstanding in Manitoba on the school question and La Presse speculated that it would become an important issue in the next federal election.[74] Some weeks later, the prime minister accused the archbishop of returning the question to the federal arena and disavowed responsibility for the consequences that could follow.[75] Langevin's explanation for taking such a provocative step was to "affirmer notre indépendence," presumably from politicians who no longer seriously cared what happened to the Canadiens in Western Canada.[76] Even Mgr. Bégin was losing hope, claiming that when Langevin stopped agitating the Manitoba school question would die. And the new immigration into Manitoba was sounding the death-knell of the French language in the west.[77] Langevin realized that he would have to defend himself both in Ottawa and Rome for playing politics, but was evidently willing to take the risk.[78]

On April 21, 1899, a Conservative, Senator J. Perley, moved that Langevin's letter be laid before the Senate. Perley recounted how he had chanced to meet the archbishop on the train between Brandon and Winnipeg one week before the letter had been submitted to the governor-general and had remarked to the archbishop that the school question had been settled. Langevin had answered in "unparliamentary" and "emphatic language" that the statement was incorrect. Perley then informed the members that Premier Greenway had stopped certain concessions that had been "winked at" in rural schools, and that school regulations were being assiduously enforced since Langevin's letter had been received. Furthermore, he found it objectionable that "a free country like Canada required a teacher, before the government could give funds in aid of the school, to make a declaration that there has been no religious instruction in the school." He then repeated what had been mentioned in the House, that the present government was sending "hush money" to keep the archbishop silent about the schools in Manitoba.[79] Speaking for the government, Senator David Mills replied that there was no public letter sent to the prime minister or the government, but that the correspondence received from the archbishop was of a private nature and consequently it was the prime minister's prerogative to divulge its contents if he so desired. With that explanation the matter was allowed to drop.

The charge of hush money caused a mild sensation. It was well known that Langevin had solicited funds and had the support of the Vatican in his efforts to finance his schools. No official grant of money had been received from either provincial or federal governments for private or separate schools and their predicament was serious. What Perley may have been alluding to was what Bourassa mentioned in a speech in Quebec on September 18, 1899, namely, that there were 150 schools in Manitoba each receiving a grant of $150 per year. Bourassa used these figures to indicate "l'oeuvre de paix, d'apaisement" with which Prime Minister Laurier could be credited in his efforts to ameliorate the hardships the Canadiens in Manitoba were suffering.[80] Indeed, that same month, Laurier sent a further sum of money to Langevin through Mgr. Bruchési for Manitoba's schools and promised that more would follow.[81] Quite evidently money was not flowing through regular channels for school support.

Election of the Conservative Party in Manitoba

Another event occurred in December 1899 that would have important consequences in the years ahead - the defeat of the Greenway Liberal government in the provincial elections. A year before the election took place Langevin had requested the Manitoba Conservative party not to use the Catholic schools as a political issue.[82] This request, however, did not preclude a meeting between Hugh John Macdonald, Conservative party leader, and Langevin early in January 1899. Macdonald had attempted to restrict the anti-French tirades of the Manitoba Free Press and the archbishop assured him that the church would not take an active part in the forthcoming elections: "All that we want is that the Constitution should be maintained: we stick to the 'Federal Pact'!"[83]

In June 1899 newspapers reported that Macdonald did not favour remedial legislation and the archbishop informed him of his displeasure if this indeed were party policy.[84] However, the Conservative election platform listed thirteen articles of which two were of particular significance for Catholic educational interests.

Article 6	Freeing the Educational System from partisan control and the application of proceeds from School Lands to supplementing ordinary school grants.
Article 12	Extension of Provincial boundaries....[85]

The Liberals charged that the Conservatives, once in power, would establish an independent board of education to administer school affairs in the province and warned the electorate: "We have our public school system now fairly well established, and say 'hands off' to these gentlemen now clamoring to go back to the old system."[86] As election time drew nearer Langevin informed Laurier that the clergy would remain neutral in the provincial contest.[87] The French vote in Manitoba had been anti-Liberal since 1890 but it was uncertain what effect Laurier's victory in 1896 and the papal encyclical in 1897 would have on French-speaking electors. The incumbent Greenway Liberals were expected to win.[88] However, the Conservative party won in December and took power on January 8, 1900. Much to Langevin's chagrin the three predominantly Canadien ridings of St. Boniface, La Verendrye, and Carillon switched allegiance and voted Liberal, even though the school question had been the dominant issue in each.[89] Langevin tried to explain the results to the newly appointed apostolic delegate, Mgr. D. Falconio:

> Le vote des trois centres français en faveur de Greenway et à cause des concessions faites par celui ci, et à cause de la neutralité du clergé que l'on a exploitée contre Hugh J. MacDonald prouvent que nos Canadiens n'ont songé qu'à sauvegarder les intérêts scolaires - Seulement, c'est une pauvre recommendation pour nous à l'arrivée du nouveau premier.[90]

Neutrality, then, was not the preferred route towards a political goal.

Summary

In keeping with the spirit of the papal encyclical, Langevin negotiated with Laurier, Sifton, and Bryce on the eventual status of Catholic schools in Manitoba. He endoresed all of Laurier's proposals for a partial settlement including the separation of Catholic students in their own schools as in the New Brunswick or Nova Scotia model. Pressure from Ottawa Conservatives and Taché's 1890 precedent forced the archbishop not to accept a position on the Advisory Board. All alternative arrangements were rejected by the Manitoba government.

When this round of negotiations failed Langevin obtained permission from Leo XIII to conduct negotiations vigorously on textbooks, the teachers' oath, a normal school, and other aspects - in short all the elements necessary for a viable Catholic school system. Laurier's reaction was to demand a permanent apostolic delegate for Canada on the pretext that the civil authorities were willing to compromise whereas the ecclesiastical authorities (i.e., Langevin) were not. He was supported by Archbishop Bruchési, newly consecrated Bishop of Montreal and an erstwhile friend of Langevin.

Laurier's tactics were decidedly effective in keeping Langevin off-balance. On the one hand, the prime minister had failed to set up the previously mentioned commission of inquiry after the 1896 election, and after the Laurier-Greenway compromise he had an inspector, Rochon, appointed for Manitoba without consulting Langevin. On the other hand, Laurier proposed concessions that Langevin could accept (always with the reservation that religious rights were guaranteed by the 1870 "constitutional pact"), and also gave private financial support for Catholic schools. When Langevin finally decided to re-open the school question at the federal level, he believed that the Canadien presence in Western Canada was dying and that Laurier was doing little to arrest this trend. In asserting his independence from Ottawa and Rome, Langevin was aware of the risk he was taking. Outmanceuvred by Laurier, he retreated to his own province where a change in government gave some hope for the future.

1. Langevin papers, LB I, Langevin to Duhamel, January 22, 1898.
2. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Bégin, January 22, 1898.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, DH, "Memorandum de Sir Wilfrid," 30 Juin, 1898.
5. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Leo XIII, February 21, 1898.
6. *Ibid.*, Langevin noted there were 83 schools in operation under his jurisdiction.
7. Greenway papers, Laurier to Greenway, March 7, 1898.
8. Langevin papers, LB I, Langevin to McDermott, March 24, 1898.
9. *Ottawa Free Press*, March 21, 1898.
10. Langevin papers, DH, Bernier to Langevin, March 21, 1898.
11. *Ibid.*, DH, Casgrain, Dugas, LaRivière, Bernier, Marois, Monk Chauvin, Marcotte to Langevin, March 23, 1898.
12. *Ibid.*, DH, Charlebois to Langevin, March 22, 1898.
13. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Cherrier, March 28, 1898.
14. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Bergeron, April 8, 1898.
15. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Bégin, April 7, 1898.
16. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Bergeron, April 8, 1898.
17. *Ibid.*, DH, Pope Leo XIII to Langevin, June 22, 1898.
18. *Ibid.*, DH, Gonthier to Langevin, June 12, 1898.
19. *Ibid.*, DH, Pope Leo XIII to Langevin, June 22, 1898.
20. *Ibid.*, LB I, Cherrier to Monsieur le Premier Ministre, June 13, 1898.
21. *Ibid.*, DH, "Circulaire Au Clergé," June 27, 1898.
22. Laurier papers, Laurier to Merry del Val, September 5, 1898.
23. Langevin papers, QS 1908, Lacasse to Langevin, March 13, 1908. The teacher was required to choose a I(a) option.
24. *Ibid.*

25. Ibid., QS 1909, Cherrier to Langevin, April 30, 1909.

26. Ibid., QS 1908, Lacasse to Langevin, March 13, 1908. The amended formula (in effect from 1899 to 1901) read:

    1. That there has been no religious teaching nor have religious exercises been held in said school during the half-yearly school term on school days, during school hours, after the opening of said school and before half-past three o'clock in the afternoon.

    2. That the record for the attendance of pupils and the other information herein furnished, is correct and true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing it to be true, and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of the "Canada Evidence Act, 1893."

27. Ibid., LB I, Langevin to Blumhart, September 1, 1898.

28. Ibid., LB I, Cherrier to Cameron, August 29, 1898.

29. Ibid., LB I, Langevin to Blumhart, September 1, 1898.

30. Ibid., DH, "La situation scolaire au Manitoba," October 1, 1898.

31. Laurier papers, Laurier to Merry del Val, September 5, 1898.

32. Ibid., While Langevin was in Europe, Bishop Laflèche of Trois Rivières and Archbishop Walsh of Toronto had died.

33. Langevin papers, LB I, Langevin to Très Saint Père, August 31, 1898.

34. Laurier papers, Northwest Review, July 13, 1897.

35. Langevin papers, LB I, Langevin to McDermott, March 24, 1898 and Langevin to Cherrier, March 28, 1898.

36. Ibid., LB I, Langevin to Rochon, March 26, 1898.

37. Ibid., LB I, Langevin to Blumhart, September 1, 1898.

38. Ibid., LB I, Langevin to Rochon, September 3, 1898.

39. Ibid., same to same, September 17, 1898.

40. Ibid., LB I, Langevin to the President and the other members of the Catholic School Board of Winnipeg, September 7, 1898.

41. Ibid., Langevin to Messieus les Curés, September 7, 1898.

42. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Cherrier, September 28, 1898.

43. *Ibid.*, DH, "La situation scolaire au Manitoba," October 1, 1898.

44. *Ibid.*, QS, Langevin to Bertrand, November 11, 1898.

45. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Ledochowski, December 9, 1898.

46. *Ibid.*, DH, Ledochowski to Langevin, January 14, 1899.

47. *Ibid.*, DH, Laurier to Langevin, January 28, 1899.

48. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Bertrand, December 17, 1898.

49. *Ibid.*, DH, "La situation scolaire au Manitoba," October 1, 1898.

50. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Blakeley, January 2, 1899.

51. *Ibid.*, DH, Blakeley to Langevin, January 4, 1899.

52. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Rochon, January 5, 1899.

53. *Ibid.*, LB I, same to same, January 13, 1899.

54. See above, footnote 14, and *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Blumhart, November 6, 1898.

55. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Bertrand, December 12, 1898.

56. *Ibid.*, DH, "La situation scolaire au Manitoba," October 1, 1898.

57. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Laurier, February 2, 1899.

58. *Ibid.*, LB I, same to same, February 25, 1899.

59. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Rochon, September 7, 1899.

60. See above, footnote 24.

61. Langevin papers, LB I, Langevin to Blakeley, November 24, 1898.

62. *Ibid.*, DH, Smart to Langevin, November 30, 1898.

63. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Laurier, February 25, 1899.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*, DH, Laurier to Langevin, March 9, 1899.

66. *Ibid.*, DH, Rochon to Langevin, July 26, 1899.

67. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Rochon, September 7, 1899.

68. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Racicot, January 13, 1900.

69. *Ibid.*, DH, Laurier to Langevin, January 22, 1900, and Savaète, *op. cit.*, 242.

70. *Ibid.*, DH, Langevin to Blumhart, November 6, 1898.

71. *Ibid.*, DH, Langevin to Laurier, November 19, 1898.

72. *Ibid.*, DH, Langevin to Legal, December 26, 1898 and Langevin to Forget, December 26, 1898.

73. *Ibid.*, DH, Drummond to Langevin, March 20, 1899.

74. *La Presse*, March 22, 1899.

75. Langevin papers, DH, Laurier to Langevin, April 13, 1899.

76. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to M. Le Supérieur and bien chèrs frères, April 9, 1899.

77. *Ibid.*, DH, Bégin to Langevin, April 5, 1899.

78. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Bernier, April 25, 1899.

79. The Senate, *Debates*, April 21, 1899.

80. Rumilly, *op. cit.*, 51.

81. Langevin papers, DH, Laurier to Langevin, September 7, 1899.

82. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Hastings, December 14, 1898.

83. *Ibid.*, LB I, Langevin to Macdonald, January 4, 1899.

84. *Ibid.*, June (?), 1899.

85. A.I. Inglis, "Some Political Factors in the Demise of the Roblin Government: 1915" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1968), 151. See Appendix E.

86. Greenway papers, [n.d.], #12066.

87. Langevin papers, LBI, Langevin to Blumhart, October 5, 1899

88. Turenne, *op. cit.*, 50.

89. *Ibid.*, 43.

90. Langevin papers, LB 2, Langevin to Falconio, December 17, 1899. Langevin's underlining.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION IN MANITOBA TO 1905

Canada's First Apostolic Delegate: Mgr. D. Falconio

Prime Minister Laurier's persistence in Rome became apparent with the appointment of the first permanent apostolic delegate to Canada.[1] On June 5, 1899 word trickled through to Langevin that Mgr. D. Falconio would soon be named to that post and official word of the appointment was received on August 20. Mgr. Falconio arrived in Canada on October 1 and Langevin sent his official welcoming letter on October 20, agreeing to meet with him shortly in the east. The delegate requested the meeting and Langevin understood that the school question would be discussed.[2]

It was rumoured before the Manitoba election in December that Hugh John Macdonald wanted to settle the school question quickly.[3] When Langevin and Macdonald met on February 12, 1900, Langevin urged him to pass "une mesure destinée à suppléer à tout ce que les lois scolaires ... depuis 1890 ont de défectueuse." The premier promised to consult his caucus and both agreed to keep negotiations secret. Langevin also asked the apostolic delegate in Ottawa to use his influence with Sir Charles Tupper, who had been instrumental in Macdonald's victory by stumping the province vigorously.[4]

The school question in Canada continued occasionally to sour relations between Langevin and Laurier. The Prime minister had to assure the archbishop that separate schools in the Yukon were not threatened by recent legislation and that he had no further information on an inspector for the Northwest.[5] However, with the limelight on the controversy over Canada's participation in the Boer War, school issues receded into the political shadows in Ottawa. Langevin therefore chose to concentrate his energies on the new premier of Manitoba and the recently appointed apostolic delegate. But before negotiating anew he advised the delegate that meddling in politics was not a charge restricted to the episcopate:

> L'épiscopat Canadien-Français était accusé faussement ici et à Rome d'être trop partisans politique, trop favorable au parti Conservateur; on voyait un représentant de St. Siège favoriser outrement le parti libéral au pouvoir et traiter ses représentants avec une faveur marquée -
>
> ....
>
> Votre Excellence sait, par ailleurs, tout ce que l'épiscopat Canadien-Français a souffert pendant et après le séjour de dernier Délégué Apostolique.[6]

To put pressure on Macdonald, Langevin requested English and French bishops to write to the premier urging resolution of the question by establishing a provincial board of education and to the federal cabinet asking support for Manitoba's Catholic schools.[7] Speaking for the archbishops of Quebec, Montreal, and Ottawa, Falconio declined any approach to the cabinet.[8] Mgr. D. O'Connor, Archbishop of Toronto, agreed to help Langevin but acknowledged that united action was possible only with the delegate's approval. He advised Langevin not to place too much pressure on Macdonald lest Greenway be returned in the next election. Besides, the present government of Manitoba was legitimately uncertain how to proceed in view of the election results: O'Connor was genuinely "mystified" how Catholics could have voted for Greenway.[9]

On March 15, Langevin learned that the provincial Conservative caucus had decided not to deal with the school question in the first session. "The best solution," Macdonald felt, "would be to deprive the Government of the management of all school matters, and to vest the necessary powers in a Board of Education, composed of men belonging to various denominations." To construct this "totally new system" would require time.[10]

In the interval the Winnipeg school board agreed to negotiate with a committee representing the five Catholic schools in Winnipeg. Opposition to any accommodation arose immediately in the legislature and the press. The public school trustees recommended that their board rent the Catholic schools and appoint the teaching staff, provided they met the requirements necessary for certification. One final stipulation, however, effectively blocked any settlement at the local level: "It is of course, understood that all classes conducted by Catholic teachers shall conform in all respects to the requirements of the Public Schools act and all regulations in force under its authority."[11] Langevin was aware of the conditions a week before anything was committed to paper and had informed Falconio that acceptance meant the mixing of Catholic with Protestant students in each school, the removal of distinctive Catholic religious symbols, and change in the dress of religious. These conditions were entirely unacceptable to the archbishop and he proposed two alternatives: In the short run, "trouver les moyens de supporter nousmêmes nos écoles libres," and in the long run, "une augmentation de population catholique nous permettent de profiter un jour de quelque complication politique pour faire [...] nos droits scolaires."[12] His reasoned tones turned bitter in a letter to a friend: "Voilà la générosité d'une majorité protestante et anglais .... Les Protestants de Winnipeg pouront utiliser nos 6 ou 7,000 mille piastres de tous pour bâtir de belles écoles et faire enseigner la musique à leurs enfants with the beggar's money."[13]

Apparently there was some advantage to be gained and Langevin cautioned J.G. Carroll, Chairman of the Winnipeg Catholic Committee, to continue the negotiations secretly and carefully. The archbishop admitted his preference for a parochial system, in which case he would not have to negotiate with the public school board.[14] Falconio became apprehensive but Langevin insisted that negotiations had to continue since Catholic schools would close without additional aid. That he was a pawn in a larger struggle did not perturb him unduly: "A un moment donné, de nouvelles complications forceront un parti politique à servir à nous, et c'est alors que les Catholiques pourront poser leurs conditions."[15] Langevin's tactics of buying time and fostering good will finally gained the delegate's approval.[16]

On June 2, Langevin had a letter read in all Catholic churches in Winnipeg: it explained the nature and purpose of the negotiations that had taken place and disclaimed any political intent on his part. The letter claimed the "federal pact" had been broken, the school rights of Catholics had been denied, and "double taxation" had resulted. Winnipeg's Catholic schools were crowded and needed repairs; the teaching sisters had not been paid for two years; school land was also being taxed. It was no longer a case of a "modus vivendi" but more exactly a "modus non moriendi."[17] Again Langevin had to assure Falconio that the pastoral letter had no political significance. He had consulted his lawyers, Ewart and Fisher, and Justices Dubuc and Prud'homme had also given their approval.[18]

In May Mgr. Dontenville of New Westminister, British Columbia, personally delivered Langevin's letter to the Propaganda in Rome, indicating that money was necessary to keep the schools operating. The Propaganda responded by recommending a collection across Canada, with the consent of the delegate, while allowing Langevin to retain for his schools a proportion of the money that normally would have been used to support his suffragans.[19] Langevin then pressed Macdonald to return the $13,879.47 handed over by Archbishop Taché to Premier Greenway in 1889 and never returned.[20] Macdonald claimed that the estimates had been passed and the issue could not be handled during the session: there were by-elections in the offing and it would look bad if the estimates were raised.[21] Searching for other ways to keep the Catholic schools operating, Langevin settled on a plan that held some promise of success.

Macdonald argued that the people of Manitoba did not want to reopen the school question. There was no public outcry among Catholics to Laurier's avowal that the school question was settled; and it was a Catholic Quebec that had put Laurier in Ottawa.[22] Manitoba was strapped for financial resources, having been saddled with a heavy debt by the Greenway government, and while the Conservative administration was overhauling its financial procedures, it was loathe to add to its deficit.[23] An important alternative remained: Laurier's option to transfer school lands under the federal government's jurisdiction to the province. Langevin learned that Macdonald would be willing to settle the school question if the school lands were transferred.[24] The rest was evident: "Il resterait pour Sir W. Laurier à s'aboucher avec l'Hon. Hugh J. MacDonald au sujet des terraines d'écoles à remettre a la Province de Manitoba - C'est la seule espérance du moment."[25]

How to finance Winnipeg's Catholic schools was uppermost in Langevin's mind during the summer of 1900. There were approximately 1,200 students enrolled and more could be expected come September.[26] He calculated expenses for the forthcoming school year at $9,000, with $4,000 for operating expenses, $3,500 for arrears, and $1,500 for a new school. Since the sisters would forego payment for another year, the sum could be reduced by half, leaving $4,500 to raise. There were four likely sources of income: subscriptions, monthly contributions, a bazaar in October, and benefactors in France.[27] Laurier sent $2,000 in June and Bégin sent $1,133.75 in December, leaving Langevin with the task of raising the remaining sum locally.[28] Falconio's refusal for a Canadian-wide public subscription for Manitoba's schools led Langevin to complain that the Vatican and the delegate would be responsible if the schools closed for want of financial support.[29] Running the schools on a shoestring budget, the archbishop could see difficult years ahead unless a more permanent solution could be found.

Although Laurier sent private donations for Langevin's schools, he was displeased that negotiations with the Winnipeg school board had failed. Langevin knew of strong opposition mounted by Liberal members of the board against any compromise and rejected any criticism of his complicity in stalemating negotiations.[30] Macdonald took a hand in matters by requesting S.A.D. Bertrand's resignation from the Advisory Board, and asked the archbishop for a new nominee. Langevin was perplexed: since Bertrand was a prominent Franco-Manitoban and staunch Liberal and only recently appointed to the Advisory Board, his sudden removal could be easily misinterpreted. The archbishop asked the apostolic delegate for his advice, realizing that Ottawa would want to know why an abrupt dismissal took place. Falconio replied that if Bertrand was unacceptable to Macdonald then the dismissal was appropriate.[31] Langevin approached Bertrand, who resigned voluntarily when he learned of the circumstances. The archbishop afterwards proposed Father A. Cherrier, member of the University Council and editor of the Northwest Review, as his representative to the Advisory Board and Macdonald agreed.[32] Cherrier remained a member and the archbishop's spokesman to 1915.

If Bertrand harboured any resentment towards the archbishop, it surfaced during the federal election campaign in the autumn of 1900. He telegrammed Laurier in code: "Archbishop threatening, in private conversation to direct electors in Provencher campaign. Great pressure from some quarters to discourage my candidature. Thought best to inform you before the departure of Delegate."[33] In August LaRivière advised the archbishop that the school question could not be raised in the Commons on a point of order and that the only other recourse was a motion of nonconfidence, which he did not think wise because he would be accused of playing politics to embarrass the government on the eve of an election.[34] Langevin tried to interest the apostolic delegate to get the Conservative party to re-open the case "si nous proclamons officiellement que la question n'est pas reglée à notre satisfaction."

Use of political institutions was necessary and a further alternative might be the creation of "un parti centre."[35] The delegate chose not to remark on any official public statement but showed some interest in a new political organization for Canada: "Votre excellence avait parfaitement raison d'voir le rémède à nos maux dans un concile nationale et de nous souhaiter un parti centre qui nous aiderait à protéger nos droits."[36] It was an idea, however, that could not affect the outcome of the November federal elections.

Macdonald had chosen to contest Clifford Sifton's Brandon constituency and resigned his leadership of party and office to Rodmond Roblin. It was a fateful decision, which would cast him into political oblivion. The federal Liberal party, riding a solid political crest, had given four years of stable and prosperous government after five years of indecisive and uncertain Conservative leadership. The Manitoba school question was no longer a burning issue and the Catholic church seemed suitably subdued. The west was being filled with immigrants and Imperial aspirations had been satisfied with Canadian participation in the Boer War. That unbeatable record was rewarded on November 7 with a Liberal victory - 133 seats to t[illegible] Conservatives' 80. In Manitoba, the Liberals beat the Conservatives, four to three. LaRivière was returned for Provencher, which included St. Boniface; Macdonald lost to Sifton and quickly passed from the scene.[37]

The archbishop was despondent when he learned of Laurier's victory: "Le résultat des élections nous rejette loin. Mais, j'ai bon courage."[38] A chance to recover some of the loss presented itself immediately in St. Boniface, where a provincial by-election was necessary to replace Bertrand who had resigned his seat to contest the federal Provencher constituency against LaRivière. Langevin declined to endorse either J.B. Lauzon, whom he suspected of having Liberal sympathies, or Bertrand, who again presented himself as a candidate, on the grounds that the riding required a Canadien, "un homme instruit" and a friend of the local government, a state that effectively excluded any candidate with Liberal connections. The elected representative would negotiate terms of transfer of school lands on behalf of the Manitoba government with Ottawa.[39] Bertrand's paper l'Echo de Manitoba announced that Lauzon encouraged Victor Mager, a nominal Conservative, to oppose the archbishop's choice, Joseph Bernier.[40] Mager agreed to run but inexplicably on Sunday, November 18, he resigned and promised to support Bernier's candidature; the next day, he withdrew his resignation.[41] This behaviour perplexed and annoyed the archbishop and confirmed his resolve to support Bernier, a lawyer and son of Senator Bernier. Roblin added his support stating: "I am pleased to see that Mr. Joseph Bernier has consented to contest St. Boniface in this by-election; I hope all friends of this party as well as of the government will rally to his support and elect him by a substantial majority."[42] The Manitoba Free Press attacked this "unholy" alliance as a violation of the principle of separation of church and state, claiming that Bernier, if elected, would sit as the archbishop's representative in the legislature and not as the representative of the people.[43] When Bernier won the election with a clear majority, Langevin hailed him as "le candidat de l'Eglise et de l'Etat," and urged him to work with Roblin to alter the composition of the Winnipeg Board of Education and to devise a legal opinion that would allow Catholic children in Winnipeg to be educated in their own schools.[44] The election was contested by two Catholics who accused the archbishop of making a pact with Roblin and Attorney-General Colin Campbell, the latter allegedly having promised "justice" to Catholics in return for the archbishop's backing of Bernier.[45] In the face of this charge Langevin was obliged to issue a public denial in St. Boniface cathedral of complicity in any "deal."[46]

In June 1900, however, Macdonald had proposed to settle the school question if the federal government transferred school lands under its jurisdiction to Manitoba. Langevin urged Falconio at that time to get Sir Charles Tupper to push this project through the Senate "avec la clause pourtant, que la minorité catholique aura sa part proportionelle."[47] After the Liberal victory, Premier Roblin assured Langevin that the previously enunciated project would go ahead as planned. With Bernier elected, the archbishop wrote the delegate that the school question could be settled "definitivement" if Laurier would negotiate with Roblin on the school lands.[48] Opposition in Manitoba was already mounting; the Free Press published article upon article to prevent the Conservatives from making any concessions to Catholics.[49]

Rodmond Roblin, an easterner of Loyalist stock, had come to Winnipeg with the first wave of Ontario immigrants to Manitoba in 1871. He was elected to the legislature in 1888 and became leader of the Conservative party a few days before the opening of the 1890 session; he was the sole member of his party to vote against the school act of 1890.[50] Considered a liability to the party in contesting the provincial election of 1899, he stepped aside in favour of Hugh John

Macdonald and when the Conservatives won he regained party leadership after Macdonald's resignation to run in the federal election. As premier he followed up the projects already started by his predecessor: a public statement at Poplar Point and a private conversation with the archbishop fully attested to his determination to settle the school question in exchange for the school lands held by the federal government.[51]

The rural schools in Catholic settlements were Catholic in everything but name. They had Catholic teachers, French books, crucifixes on the walls, and began classes with prayers not approved by the Advisory Board; teachers took the oath in spite of this breach of the regulations and the boards received government grants and municipal taxes. In the larger "mixed" centres such as Winnipeg and Brandon, Catholic schools received no government or municipal aid. One solution that occurred to the archbishop was to have them categorized and supported as Voluntary Schools were in England.[52] The proposal was quickly taken up by government members; the archbishop related the following exchange:

> Alors vous connaitrez nos écoles de Winnipeg, nos écoles paroissiales? lui demanda L'Hon. Larivière [*sic*], dans une conversation privée; "Oui: dit M. Campbell, nous voulons se connaître comme en Angleterre des *Voluntary Schools* subventioner par le Gouvernement!"[53]

It was another possibility in a growing list of alternatives for aid to Catholic schools in Manitoba's urban centres.

To gain further leverage at the federal level Langevin initiated correspondence with Henri Bourassa, reminding him of the conversation they had had in June on the school subsidy paid to Manitoba. What Langevin wanted now was a resolution to be passed by parliament reserving a portion of the revenues for Catholic schools, not only of the yearly subsidy but also of the school lands. He added that the apostolic delegate had mentioned his name when the issue of political realignment, "un centre," for Canada arose.[54] Although Bourassa had supported Laurier during the 1896 election and had accompanied Tarte west to work out the Laurier-Greenway agreement, he broke ranks with his party and leader in the fall of 1899 on Canadian participation in the Boer War and resigned his seat in parliament. While no personal animosity existed between Laurier and Bourassa, a situation that paved the way for reconciliation in 1902, it was during this period that Bourassa began to clarify his ideas on the nature of the Canadian nation.[55] Sensitive to influences that affected Canadian society, he informed Langevin that better co-operation between laity and clergy would obviate many of the national and provincial misunderstandings that had marred the past.[56] Langevin sensed a change in Bourassa and wrote on December 28, 1900 that the Attorney-General of Manitoba, Colin Campbell, would soon travel to Ottawa, hoping perhaps that the two could meet to discuss the school question.[57]

Laurier's Initiative After the Liberal Victory of 1900

Archbishop O'Connor of Toronto invited Langevin to a meeting of the Canadian Catholic hierarchy, "the Archbishops of the Dominion," in Ottawa on January 30, 1901 and noted that the Manitoba school question would be on the agenda.[58] At first Langevin demurred but finally agreed to participate: Rome had tied the Canadian hierarchy to the apostolic delegate, who clearly favoured the Liberal government, but every avenue had to be tried. Tarte had already indicated his opposition to transfer of school lands and cited this issue as another instance of clerical meddling. "Pauvre Manitoba, Pauvre Canada, Pauvre Eglise-Canadienne," Langevin sighed.[59] Even before negotiations began between Manitoba and Ottawa, Laurier noted that the Manitoba government had made no mention of Roblin's intention to "faire cesser toutes raisons de plaintes" if the school lands were handed over.[60]

The meeting of archbishops was not what Langevin expected. Laurier proposed to use the transfer of school lands as the final solution to the vexing school question and stated so before the prelates gathered in conference. He was disappointed that Roblin was coming to negotiate and felt he should stay in Manitoba. It was up to Roblin to create a "modus vivendi" in Winnipeg that could later be formalized by statutory enactment both in the Manitoba legislature and the Canadian parliament.[61] It was quite proper for the federal government to demand reciprocal concessions since the provincial government (Manitoba) had no legal claim to the lands: the condition would be a restoration of minority rights.

> Entre le système d'écoles publiques et le système d'écoles separées, je donne personnellement, de beaucoup, la préférence au dernier. L'expérience a demontré qu'avec une population composée d'éléments divers comme celle du Canada, le système d'écoles séparées est celui qui, en somme, a donné le plus de satisfaction, et je suis déterminé dupuis longtemps à le promouvoir et à le faire accepter partout où la chose sera possible. J'ai cette intention relativement à la province de Manitoba comme partout ailleurs. Cette demande qui nous est faite par le gouvernement de Manitoba de lui remettre entre les mains le fonds des écoles peut offrir une excellente occasion d'arriver à cette fin.[62]

He acknowledged that although Langevin and Roblin would welcome separate schools, the people of Manitoba would not. But it would still be possible to allow the minority full privileges quaranteed by law without establishing a dual administration such as had existed in 1890.

> Je n'ai plus qu'à ajouter que si nous arrivons à une entente, elle devra être sanctionée par législation concurrente tant de la part du gouvernement fédérale que de la législature provinciale. Je regarde cette dernier condition comme absolument indispensable pour la stabilité des concessions qui seront accordés.[63]

Public opinion had to be prepared to accept this new arrangement but it was realizable: 'j'avoue que c'est un travail de longue main."

Langevin was in no mood to wait. He directed Cherrier to get approval for Ontario's Canadian Catholic Readers from Roblin and the Advisory Board. He asked Roblin whether the Advisory Board could be expanded to accommodate two more Catholic members, who would form a statutory committee on the "French-English" schools, and inquired about the disposition of the money to be repaid Catholic schools.

> I hope, also, that you will not forget our desperate position on account of heavy debts yet unpaid; and the sum of $13,879.47 handed over in 1889 to the Local Government ... the Hon. M. Sifton declared to me today that had he been asked for it, he would not have hesitated to pay the said sum!![64]

Laurier and Sifton had also promised to keep the Manitoba Free Press in rein when Roblin approached the Winnipeg school board.

A further meeting took place between the prime minister and the archbishop on February 10. Laurier promised legal assistance to assure that the school law could not be breached if Catholic schools in Winnipeg were accepted as public schools. The archbishop felt that certain cabinet ministers would create trouble but was assured that even Sifton would remain quiet. When negotiations were completed, the news media, it was agreed, could then speak of a "règlement définitif."[65]

Notice of Laurier's intentions caused Langevin to postpone his return trip to St. Boniface for another month. Impatient, he prodded

Laurier, who replied that things were proceeding steadily.[66] Frustrated by the lack of progress in Ottawa, he departed for St. Boniface. There he found a premier reluctant to negotiate with Ottawa, convinced that the prime minister would not approve anything that could create controversy. Roblin had searched out the feelings of the Winnipeg school board, the most important single board in the whole province, and concluded it was unwilling to compromise. Langevin surmised that prodding from Ottawa might help change minds, particularly of those trustees with Liberal sympathies.[67] However, the initiative had to come from Ottawa, Langevin felt, otherwise Laurier could be accused of negotiating in bad faith.[68] He also found the Free Press criticizing the re-opening of the school question and requested the prime minister to stifle it.[69]

The principal negotiators, Bole for Manitoba and Farrar for Ottawa, evoked hostility in both Roblin and Laurier. Langevin was appalled: "j'ai l'âme navrée," he confided to Duhamel.[70] Farrar was unacceptable to Manitoba because he was a recognized political opponent of the Roblin government; Bole, on the other hand, was a maverick Liberal. Laurier felt he was being baited and complained to Falconio, who wrote: "He spoke to me of the embarrassment in which [Bole] put him because of his levity and impudence regarding the school question. He suggests his removal or that another person be delegated."[71] Roblin also charged that the Liberal party was using this occasion to attack him provincially and federally on his government's railway policy.[72] In these charges and counter-charges, Langevin acknowledged that Laurier had to be given a chance to carry out his plans.[73]

While Bole was in Ottawa, ostensibly to search out the government's reaction to Roblin's railway policy, his prime purpose was to negotiate a settlement on the school question. He assured Laurier that if the Catholics wished to rent their schools to the Winnipeg school board, he, Bole, could begin talks and bring them to a satisfactory conclusion. Laurier believed Bole could do it in spite of opposition from some trustees and when this rental question had been settled, they could continue to the others. But Laurier remained firm that the indispensable condition was that Roblin had to indicate the kind of settlement that would be made before the school lands were transferred.[74] Langevin summarized the nature of the stalemate for Ledochowski and warned that if nothing was accomplished by September, drastic measures would have to be taken to keep the Winnipeg schools open. He could not resist adding:

> La facilité que l'on a laissée à M. Laurier de dire tout haut que la question de nos écoles était reglée a fait dire au bon peuple que le St. Siège, par son Délégué, approuvait la conduite de Sir. W. Laurier! Cette assertion ferait sourire si on ne savait pas qu'elle fait beaucoup de mal. Elle trahit, hélas! une situation pénible.[75]

Falconio advised Langevin to stay out of the contest and let the politicans fight it out. In his opinion Roblin was obliged to make the first move.[76]

Langevin bridled at these suggestions and expressed his regrets to Ledochowski that the apostolic delegate had not deigned to visit Manitoba for any extended period to acquaint himself with the actual circumstances, adding "Je ne vois guère l'utilité de traiter désormais cette question avec Mgr. le Délégué."[77] He noted with alarm the progress of anti-Catholic forces in France ' "un rage satanique" - and the joy such news would bring to "nos anglais Protestants."[78] In his view, the Boer War was an example of a "guerre de légitime défense" against an aggressive and expansionist British Empire.[79] To protestantize is to anglicize, he wrote to Colonel Audet in reviewing his study of the Protestant clergy in Quebec.[80] It was inconceivable to Langevin that, while these grave struggles were going on, he would be placed hors de combat by a papal delegate.

The archbishop could not be provoked even when the public school in the Catholic centre of Grande Pointe was broken into and the crucifix smashed.[81] Ewart had prepared an agreement that would allow the Winnipeg public school board to assume responsibility for the Catholic schools and Langevin wanted it ratified by both the Winnipeg Catholic Committee and the public school trustees. Campbell was leaving for Ottawa and the archbishop wanted assurances "in general ... that our schools will be taken over, next September."[82] An agreement was reached and a copy of the "settlement" was sent to Laurier, who was negotiating matters more fully with Campbell. At Falconio's request, Laurier sent him a copy of the "settlement," along with a draft of the oath that he felt Langevin could accept.[83]

In the early summer of 1901 Langevin attended to ecclesiastical affairs throughout his far-flung archdiocese, particularly the Yukon territory. When he returned early in August he became apprehensive that with the opening of the new school year hardly a month away nothing had been firmly settled about Winnipeg's schools.[84] At Laurier's request Roblin negotiated personally with the prime minister after drawing up a five-point agreement with Langevin. The terms were:

1. Bâtir une Ecole Normale à St. Boniface, avec les $14,000. - remises par la section catholique en 1889 au Gouvernement Greenway -

2. Faire accepter les écoles catholiques de Winnipeg à la condition qu'on y garde les maîtres et maîtresses catholiques brevetés -

3. Faire imprimer le livre de lecture, anglais, et français, accepté par "L'Advisory Board" -

4. Modifier la rapport semi-annuel en ce qui concerne la déclaration des maîtres, au gré de Mgr. l'archevêque -

5. Payer une balance de près de $4,000 piastres dues pour l'enseignement, [en ces] dernières années, à Winnipeg - (Religieuses) -85

It was also agreed that Roblin would ask only for the interest on the endowment and not press for the transfer of the school lands. And while the oath had been amended, no order-in-council would be passed to encumber the present round of talks. All Winnipeg papers, the Free Press, the Telegram, and the Tribune, were silent.

It was the Ottawa Journal that reported a resolution of the Winnipeg school board to accept Catholic schools and teachers provided that the dress worn by members of religious congregations during teaching hours be discarded. The apostolic delegate was affronted by this condition and asked Laurier to scratch it from the resolution; it would effectively exclude religious from the schools. The prime minister had agreed, however that if the Roblin proposals were carried out, he would add an extra $100,000 to the sum requested by the premier.[86] On August 23, the delegate had not yet received a copy of the "settlement" negotiated between Roblin and Laurier and warned the prime minister that not only had the trustees made no concessions, they had added a restriction not contained in the 1890 legislation.[87] Langevin learned from the delegate that three Winnipeg schools, including the Galician one (Holy Ghost), could come under the jurisdiction of the public school board since it would not be difficult for these particular schools to accommodate to the dress regulation.[88]

The archbishop was outwardly compliant; "M. Laurier veut certainement nous aider efficacement maintenant," he remarked to an associate.[89] But to Bégin his true feelings emerged: the delegate had complained to Rome that Langevin was holding on too tightly to the schools; the three schools to be handed over were lost and only the nuns' schools remained "free" and there was no money left to build others. "J'ai l'âme navrée," he again sighed.[90] His despondency increased: "Nous serons hélas! aux mains de l'ennemis et pratiquement tout sera fini en ce qui concerne nos droits scolaires selon la Constitution de pays."[91] The English inspectors would kill the French language and the Northwest Territories Commissioner Haultain, "le frère de Sifton," could become the "King of the West." "Où seront les Canadiens Français dans 50 ans!" he challenged Bernier.[92] But the struggle was not entirely lost. Laurier had withheld the transfer of of school lands and Langevin thanked him for it.[93]

Falconio was particularly incensed about the "millinery" regulation and remarked that it was not part of the Nova Scotia agreement; there the teachers dressed as they pleased in the Catholic schools.[94] Langevin acknowledged that for all practical purposes the Catholic schools could not be handed over to the Winnipeg school board that year, but immediately devised another set of conditions for Roblin to confront Laurier with. These were:

1. Support the five Catholic schools of Winnipeg yearly, until an arrangement has been made - = $7,000.

2. Printing of the Readers in French-
   Printing of the Readers in English

3. - Paying of arrears of salaries

4. - Printing of the new half-yearly report -

5. Building of a normal school at St. Boniface.
   not to be less that $14,000.[95]

No action was taken on Langevin's latest recommendation. What the talks did accomplish was to establish a degree of understanding by all concerned, with the notable exception of four members of the Winnipeg public school board. The 1897 law that prevented the separation of children during class hours was still the principal stumbling block; all other considerations could be waived. The provincial cabinet passed an order-in-council legitimizing the new form of the oath, much to Langevin's satisfaction. And Bole had been elevated to the chairmanship of the Winnipeg public school board. But the simplest solution for Langevin was still to levy a ten dollar charge on every Catholic church in Canada to free him from the wheeling-dealing of politicians.[96]

One final effort drove Laurier to travel to Winnipeg on October 7, 1901 to negotiate directly with Langevin and Roblin. The result was a secret agreement, which, if implemented, would have permitted Laurier to transfer the school funds to Manitoba. The terms were:

1. De bâtir une école normale à St. Boniface pour les Franco-anglais, de la maintenir et de nommer un principal et des professeurs de concert avec Mgr. l'archevêque: -

2. D'imprimer un livre de lecture en anglais et en français [...] est déjà approuvé pour les écoles Franco-anglais

3. De faire fonctionner soit avec les allocations du "Bureau des Ecoles Publiques de Winnipeg" soit avec de l'argent pris ailleurs, les trois écoles suivantes;
   a) Ecole des pères de l'église St. Marie -
   b) Ecole des Polono - allemands de l'église du St. Esprit-
   c) Ecole St. Joseph -[97]

4. Faire nommer un autre membre Catholique de l'Advisory Board -

Langevin was to write Laurier, after contacting the delegate, at the end of October to report any progress made by Roblin. On November 8, the delegate advised Langevin not to consent to any transfer of land to Manitoba, citing the millinery proscription as a reason. Laurier had reneged on his promises in the past and Falconio was suspicious of his intentions: "si vous faisiez la déclaration dont il s'agit, M. Laurier n'aurait plus d'autre moyen d'intervenir en faveur des écoles de Winnipeg et ne se croirait plus obligé de le faire désormais." He realized that the Manitoba government could change its mind at will if there were no iron-clad guarantees forthcoming.[98] Langevin estimated there was $750,000 in the treasury that the federal government could use as leverage on a debt-ridden provincial administration.[99] By December 23, he could report that his position was "more satisfactory" and advised Laurier to transfer the entire interest from the endowment to the Manitoba government "for the good of our country and for our own advantage."[100]

On January 30, 1902 Laurier finally agreed to hand over the accrued interest to the Manitoba government.[101] Bourassa promised Langevin to support any bill in parliament that would faciliate the transfer and then recounted the circumstances by which more than $300,000 had been paid to Greenway from the school fund in 1898:

> Vous savez peut-être que je contribuais en 1897, à faire retirer cette proposition du gouvernement. En 1898, je préparais à m'y opposer egalement mais M. Laurier ayant fournis le cas à une haute autorité ecclésiastique - que je préféré ne pas nommer dans une lettre mais dont vous connaissez sans doute le nom et l'intervention - je m'abstint. M. Laurier avait alors déclaré que toutes les concessions promisses seraient executés à la lettre avant le ler Septembre 1898.[102]

It may have been a coincidence that, on the day the money was transferred in 1898, the Greenway government promised to change the teachers' oath, a promise that led Langevin to believe he could expect government grants.

Laurier argued that he had withheld the transfer of funds for so long in order to obtain "le plus de concessions possibles. Mgr. Langevin est d'avis que la part qui lui reviendra de cette somme augmentera ses moyens d'action."[103] When the transfer was effected on June 10, 1902, Langevin was elated with the possibilities: his normal school would be built, the sisters could receive their back pay, and his school system in Winnipeg could be expanded.[104] He also urged Fitzpatrick to devise a clause that would allow the Winnipeg public school board to accept Catholic schools and to allow religious dress in public schools.[105]

When the 1902 session of parliament prorogued, Laurier travelled to London to attend the fourth colonial conference and then to Rome. There he had an audience with Leo XIII and assured the pontiff that the Manitoba school question had finally been settled. When Langevin learned of Laurier's declaration he objected because no legal method had been devised to integrate Catholic schools into the Winnipeg public school system.[106] Bruchési, too, took exception to the prime minister's statement: "Et qui donc voudra dire en effet que la question est reglée? Elle ne le sera, elle ne pourra l'être que lorsque justice aura été rendue à nos frères de là-bas."[107] Langevin had written an open letter to French Canadians in Quebec on November 27, 1902, in which he gave three general reasons why the question was still outstanding:

> parce que le droit naturel des parents et la constitution du pays restent violés;...parce que les promesses faites en 1896, 1870, par les autorités impériales aux catholiques du Manitoba n'ont pas été respectées; ...parce que le Pape a declaré que c'est BEAUCOUP PLUS que les catholiques du Manitoba ont le droit et le devoir de reclamer.[108]

With Mgr. Bruchési's open statement, Langevin had regained a powerful ally and was about to acquire another, at least temporarily.

Canada's Second Apostolic Delegate: Mgr. D. Sbaretti

Late in 1902 the first permanent apostolic delegate to Canada, Mgr. Falconio, was transferred to the United States, to be replaced by Mgr. D. Sbaretti. Langevin immediately sent him a report on the condition of diocesan education, particularly the five Winnipeg schools teaching about 800 children.[109] He was pleased to hear rumours that "Mgr. Sbaretti est très bien disposé à être l'homme des évêques et non l'homme du Gouvernement, et it peut se faire que la réaction commence avec lui!"[110] It was suspected that the new delegate had received instructions in Rome to find a solution to the school question and Langevin expected him to act.[111] As a first step Sbaretti agreed to Langevin's suggestion that a petition to King Edward VII to intervene was appropriate.[112] Langevin informed him of the four years of negotiations with the Winnipeg public school board and Roblin's largely unsuccessful efforts to get some kind of accommodation between Protestants and Catholics, adding that school lands were also part of the whole problem. The archbishop counselled the delegate that receiving a portion of the school lands at this juncture would serve little purpose since Catholics did not have a school system of their own to support.[113] The restoration of the school system laid down in 1895 under the remedial bill was the goal he was seeking.[114] The archbishop was as positive about the new delegate as he was negative about the two former delegates who had "fortifié[s] les mécréants et découragé[s] les bons."[115]

Negotiations with the Winnipeg public school board were not going well and the *Manitoba Free Press* was again demanding a standpat attitude from the Winnipeg trustees. Langevin wrote Sbaretti asking him to request the prime minister to keep the newspaper quiet.[116] The delegate was told not to be astonished by what he read in the diocesan circular *Les Cloches de St. Boniface* about the school situation - it was being written to keep French Canadians up to date on educational affairs. There was some good news to report to the delegate on May 3: seven of the twelve trustees had accepted the Catholic position and they awaited direction from Ottawa. The next day, however, the Orange Lodge in Winnipeg passed a resolution attempting to prevent negotiations from proceeding further.[117] The delegate asked for and received an analysis of the history of the whole problem from the prime minister, who resented the chronic complaining of Winnipeg Catholics. In Laurier's eyes Langevin was the arch-villain:

> Bien que sa Grandeur soit doué d'un grand nombre de qualités très estimables, je ne crois pas quelle ait aucune de celles qui pourraient en faire un negotiateur heureux. De plus, si je dois exprimer toute ma pensée, je suis convaincu que Sa Grandeur n'a jamais accepté de bon grace la législation de 1897, et n'a jamais sincèrement fait aucun effort pour le faire accepter à Winnipeg. Avec Sa Grandeur, le résultat serait douteux; avec un autre, je serais certain du succès.[118]

With the two principals at loggerheads, Sbaretti had already decided to visit St. Boniface and appraise the situation for himself. Of the committee of five Catholics who were negotiating with the Winnipeg public school trustees, Sbaretti requested that two be sent to Ottawa first. Langevin readily complied by selecting Russell and Deegan, who left at the end of July while he remained in St. Boniface.[119]

Campaigning for the provincial elections had begun and the archbishop was requested by the apostolic delegate not to allow his priests to get involved; the prime minister would re-open negotiations on the school question immediately after the election.[120] Langevin acquiesced but his preference for Roblin was well known; Greenway was still leader of the provincial Liberal party, and his very presence was distasteful to the prelate. Roblin's accomplishments were substantial in effecting a sound railway policy and reducing the provincial debt but what mattered to Langevin was his concessions to Catholics.[121] The list was growing and all signs indicated more were probable: a normal school in St. Boniface, modification of the teachers' oath, a Catholic inspector for Galician schools, ease of acquiring teaching certificates, a great latitude for teaching in Catholic centres, and a French Catholic-Metis school inspector appointed.[122] The Conservative government had earned the archbishop's support.

The results of the August 6, 1903 election confirmed the provincial Conservative party in power for another term. Langevin was elated at Roblin's victory but could not hide his disappointment with the French-speaking ridings: only one of the four where the French were in a majority voted in a Conservative candidate. In St.

Boniface riding, Joseph Bernier lost by a single vote.[123] According to Langevin, Roblin also was very disappointed with the French: "What will my other friends in Quebec say if St. Boniface isn't mine?"[124] The only ray of hope for the archbishop was that the French vote was inconclusive: the fact that the Conservatives had lost by slight margins could be interpreted as a standoff.

LaRivière had travelled to St. Boniface to view the provincial election and reported that the Liberal party in Ottawa did not appear to have the same influence with Sbaretti as they had had with the two previous delegates.[125] With this optimistic assessment of the delegate, Langevin wrote to ask for a public statement that the school question was not resolved and mentioned his increasing concern over the territorial expansion of Manitoba.[126] During a meeting with his suffragans, Mgr. Legal of St. Albert and Mgr. Pascal of Prince Albert, disucssion of the expansion of Manitoba into Assiniboia took up a large portion of their time.[127]

Roblin's Conservative party had been elected on a platform that called for the extension of provincial boundaries.[128] In the 1902 sitting of the Manitoba legislature, a resolution carrying into effect that promise had received unanimous support. It read:

> That this House is of the opinion that it is desirable, both in the interests and for the welfare of the Province of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, that the area of the former should be increased by an extension of boundaries so as to embrace and include a portion of the Districts of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan and northward to Hudson's Bay.[129]

At this stage of their development the Northwest Territories were sensitive to issues of political autonomy and resented Manitoba's intrusion into their affairs. The Territorial Assembly passed a resolution opposing any westward expansion of Manitoba's boundaries and argued its own right to provincial status within the Dominion.[130] Langevin thought it an opportune moment to have Robert Borden, the new federal Conservative party leader, and Frederick Monk, leader of the Conservatives in Quevec, urge a final settlement on Roblin.[131]

These considerations were short-lived when Langevin learned that the federal government was planning to send a cabinet minister to deal directly with the Winnipeg public school trustees. This move had been arranged through the two Catholic delegates sent east and had received Roblin's approval.[132] Sbaretti stopped off in Winnipeg on his way to Victoria and stayed at St. Boniface. He met with Roblin on his return late in October. Soon after the delegate's return to Ottawa, Langevin was requested to remain silent while the next round of negotiations were in progress.[133] Laurier was also cautioned by the new pope, Pius X, through his Secretary of State, Merry del Val, that Rome was considering the school question with renewed interest:

> Le nouveau Pape va porter le même intérêt que son illustre Prédécesseur au sort du Canada: aussi a-t-il été saisi de la question scolaire au Manitoba, et il n'ignore pas combien les catholiques canadiens en sont préoccupés, même à présent. Cependant le Saint Père n'ignore pas non plus de quelle influence vous jouissez à juste titre et il aime à croire que Vous voudrez bien Vous en servir pour ménager un bon accueil aux justes réclamations des catholiques canadiens.[134]

The man chosen by Laurier to negotiate was Clifford Sifton. Langevin proposed that Manitoba should have at least the minimum granted Catholics in the Territories, namely, a right to form separate school districts and to collect taxes for their own schools.[135] He was convinced that if Sifton offered Roblin the school lands for school districts and taxes Roblin would not refuse.[136] However, Roblin was now considering the addition of Assiniboia to Manitoba as a possible alternative to a transfer of school lands.[137] If this latter condition was to be the key to gain concessions for Catholics then Langevin was pessimistic on the outcome of the talks. He doubted that the federal government would agree to any expansion of Manitoba; Roblin's expectations were unrealistic. As an alternative Langevin proposed to del Val that the address to the king signed by all the Catholic hierarchy of Canada be presented to Edward VII on his forthcoming visit to Rome. This secret memoir was known only to the signatories, the Catholic archbishops of Canada and two politicians, Fitzpatrick and Laurier. Only Rome need approve it.[138] However, Sbaretti thought it best not to involve the imperial government and chose to postpone the appeal; Langevin did not object.[139]

The apostolic delegate took a direct hand in negotiations by offering Laurier two amendments to the Manitoba School Act. "These amendments are much less than that to which we are entitled by our rights and by the sentence of the Privy Council" but they were moderate and reasonable to the delegate.

> Amendment to Section 218 of the School Act of Manitoba.
>
> In any school in towns and cities where the average attendance of Roman Catholic children is thirty or upwards, and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is fifteen or upwards, the trustees shall if required by a petition of parents or guardians of such number of Roman Catholic children, respectively, provide Roman Catholic teachers for such children and also provide school houses for the accommodation of such children, where they shall be taught exclusively by such teachers.

> Amendment to Section 220 of the School Act of Manitoba.
>
> No separation of pupils by religious denominations shall take place during the secular school work, except in schools, as constituted under Section 218.[140]

The apostolic delegate added: "I would deprecate any further delay in settling the question, because the Catholics would be forced to continue the struggle for their rights with renewed energy." He then requested that his amendments be accepted by both governments and that Sifton be directed to negotiate with these instructions.[141] Although Langevin was working on another set of conditions, he agreed to limit himself to the delegate's two amendments.[142]

A snag in the negotiations developed immediately. Ottawa had not transferred to Manitoba the interest on the endowment from the sale of school lands, although an order-in-council of June 30, 1903, had released $91,821.27. Roblin seemed ready to act in spite of this obstacle but his advisers refused to move on any issue until Ottawa settled the account.[143] A month later, while negotiations dragged on, Langevin complained to Sbaretti that the most acute period for fruitful negotiations had passed, that concessions could have been had in January 1904 if the money had been handed over promptly.[144] Negotiations came to a standstill when Sifton found reasons for not being able to leave Ottawa although Laurier hoped to continue by communicating with Roblin directly. The premier did not take the trouble to reply.[145] Merry del Val was not pleased to hear that Sifton was in charge for the Ottawa government and preferred Laurier to undertake the task himself, indicating that if the question were settled definitively "Il vous sera beaucoup plus aisé de réaliser d'autres projects de votre programme à l'avantage moral, matériel et politique de votre pays."[146]

While negotiations were proceeding the archbishop had begun the extensive travels he had planned for 1904. First he crossed into the United States where, among other things, he attempted to attract Slavic priests for his missions among the Galicians. Two "Basilians," members of the Order of St. Basil the Great, had arrived in the autumn of 1902 from Europe and had settled in St. Albert diocese but more were required.[147] In April when Langevin was in Montreal he learned that the Liberal whip in the Manitoba legislature, Horace Chevrier, would unite the Liberal party behind Roblin if he would introduce legislation recommended by Sbaretti.[148] What the substance of the assertion was could not be ascertained since Langevin was proceeding to Europe where he was to spend the next five months.

Manitoba and the Autonomy Acts

Late in May 1904, Laurier cautioned Merry del Val that legislation would be introduced after the next federal election to create new provinces in the Northwest and that the school question would be re-opened. Langevin would bring the Manitoba question to the fore again and would get some Quebec support. Even the apostolic delegate thought it propitious to settle the Manitoba issue at the same time, Laurier wrote.[149] Sbaretti wanted two assurances from the prime minister.

> 1. That you will exact, as condition sine qua non of the admission of any part of the North West Territories to Manitoba, the system of Separate Schools for the Catholics in the part of the Territories annexed.

> 2. That you will take the opportunity to settle the School Question of Manitoba by exacting the re-establishment of the schools for the Catholics in return for the extension of the territory and the giving of the Administration of the School Lands.[150]

Sbaretti believed that within the Canadian legal system he had "proved that the law guaranteeing Separate Schools should be maintained in any portion of the North West Territories, which might eventually be annexed to Manitoba, even in the case that there were no Catholics and no Separate Schools in such portion."[151] Laurier reserved judgement even though the delegate persisted.[152]

Langevin's extended trip to Europe yielded no spectacular results. His visit to Rome and audience with Pope Pius X produced only a general public statement: "Soyez certain que le Pape est avec les évêques qui combattent pour la justice."[153] From Rome he travelled to Vienna where he received an audience with Emperor Franz-Joseph and subsequently produced an extensive survey of the state of the 80,000 "Autrichiens" in Western Canada for him. After visiting other countries, he returned to St. Boniface on October 2, 1904, in time to witness the campaign for the November federal elections.[154]

Canada had prospered during the Laurier administration, the economic situation was good, unemployment virtually non-existent, and immigrants were flooding the country. The personality of the Liberal prime minister had a marked effect on the political fortunes of his party; his eloquence, vision, and presence made him an invaluable asset. He had wrested leadership of the Quebecois from the Bleus, and especially the Castors, thereby markedly reducing ecclesiastical influence in political affairs. Challenged by Tarte on economic policy, he simply dismissed his closest political associate without apparent fear of repercussions among the Rouges. Racial and religious prejudices had diminished to the point where their impact on the election would at best be marginal. The leader of the Conservative opposition, Robert Borden, had chosen to concentrate on the construction of the National Transcontinental Railway as the chief issue but could not raise any public enthusiasm for his alternative proposal for a publicly owned rail line. With the slogan that "the twentieth century belongs to Canada" the Liberals defeated the Conservatives by an overwhelming majority of 138 to 75. Quebec was almost a complete sweep with 53 of 65 seats going to the Liberals; Ontario, however, gave 48 seats to the Conservatives and 38 to the Liberals. Manitoba went Liberal by the large margin of 7 to 3.[155]

Anticipating the introduction of the autonomy bills promised by Laurier, the archbishop conceived of two possibilities to force the prime minister to devise an acceptable education clause: the first was a petition signed by the Canadian Catholic hierarchy affirming separate school rights in the west and the second was a statement from the pope or apostolic delegate that the Manitoba school question was not resolved.[156] J.K. Barrett advised the archbishop to resist any extension of Manitoba's boundaries unless separate school rights were restored; "rather let Manitoba remain as it is, a small and insignificant province, lying between Ontario on the East and the new provinces on the West, where Catholics are, or will be, in the enjoyment of freedom from persecution because of conscience."[157] Langevin considered the fact that in the district of Keewatin there was only one Catholic day school for

Indians at Lac Lacroix (Cross Lake) underwritten entirely by the federal government. In the district of Assiniboia there were separate schools supported by grants from the Territorial Assembly. In this latter area, Langevin advised Sbaretti that the sine qua non for annexation to Manitoba would be the re-establishment of separate schools in the whole of Manitoba. Langevin's personal guess was that two provinces would be created and Manitoba would expand westward. He repeated to the delegate that Roblin felt "ce sera le temps pour Sir W. Laurier, aujourd'hui tout puissant, de faire passer à Ottawa une loi scolaire pour tout l'ouest de Canada."[158]

Sbaretti transmitted Roblin's apparent conciliatory mood to Laurier, who made no commitment to the delegate.[159] Laurier had opted for a short session of parliament in 1905 and attempted to steer clear of the Manitoba boundaries issue. In mid-February 1905 Robert Rogers and Colin Campbell travelled to Ottawa as representatives of the Manitoba government to negotiate for an extension of provincial boundaries. On February 16 Langevin received from Sbaretti advance notice of the autonomy bills incorporating the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and declared that the school clauses in them "ne pouvait pas me causer un plus vif plaisir."[160] However, when he learned of Laurier's defence of separate schools in the House of Commons and the subsequent resignation of Clifford Sifton he was ecstatic:

> C'est un grand triomphe pour la cause catholique et la cause de la justice et de bon ordre en général, et Votre Excellence y aura pris sa large et noble part. Te Deum Laudamus. Cet acte de justice et de vrai patriotisme de la part de Sir Wilfrid Laurier lui fait grand honneur et lui donne droit à notre reconnaissance. Espérons que cet homme d'état si puissant, en ce moment, ne s'arretera pas en si bon voie, et qu'il saura profiter de l'agrandissement demandé par les Gouvernements de Manitoba avec tant de raison pour imposer à ces messieurs le noble devoir de rendre justice à la minorité catholique manitobaine qui ne peut pas être de

> pire condition que ses deux nouvelles soeurs, les provinces d'Alberta et de Saskatchewan.[161]

Sifton had cut short his vacation in the United States and returned to Canada on hearing reports of the school clauses in the autonomy bills. Having learned the facts, he resigned his post as Minister of the Interior. He had the support of W.S. Fielding, Minister of Finance, and several other Liberals who shared his view that the school clauses did not embody the principles of the 1901 Territorial school ordinance but harked back to the original 1875 federal statute that constituted the Northwest Territories. Under the threat of a divided party and in spite of his own threat to resign if suitable legislation was not enacted, Laurier allowed members of the government to rewrite the school clauses to reflect the 1901 school ordinance and preserve the educational status quo in the two new provinces.[162]

Archbishop Langevin's suffragan, Bishop Legal of St. Albert, declared himself "satisfied" with the autonomy bills and would not endorse a circular composed by Langevin on the history of the school question in the Territories, since he considered it to be inflammatory; this incident caused some friction within the ranks of the Catholic hierarchy in the west.[163] Sifton's school clause was introduced into the House on March 11 and Sbaretti thought it was tolerable but certainly not satisfactory.[164] Langevin conceded that Sifton's clause would allow separate schools but not Catholic schools. Nevertheless, he was willing to try all or nothing: "je voudrait cent fois mieux tout perdre que nous dire satisfaits."[165]

On April 4, Rogers created a stir when he related to the press how he and Campbell had been called to a conference with the apostolic delegate and were presented with modifications to the Manitoba school act. Rogers implied that if the changes were implemented, certain results might follow with regard to Manitoba's boundaries.[166] The "Sbaretti Memorandum" was then produced as evidence of the alleged interview. It read:

> And when in a city or town there shall be 30 or more Roman Catholic children and also 30 or more non-Roman Catholic children, or in any village more than 15 of each such classes the trustees shall, if requested by a petition of parents or guardians, if such number of either of such classes, provide separate accommodation for each of such classes and employ for them respectively, Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic teachers.
>
> Add to Section 48 (b): And when in any rural district there shall be 15 or more Roman Catholic children and 15 or more non-Roman Catholic children, the Trustees shall, if required by a petition of parents or guardians of such number of either such classes, provide separate accommodation for each of such classes, and employ for them, respectively, Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic teachers.[167]

The Conservatives raised the cry of a "Laurier-Sbaretti conspiracy" and Laurier was compelled to deny any "deal" in the Commons.[168] In a public statement Sbaretti denied he had met with Rogers. Campbell and he, however, had discussed the implications of the school act on the Catholics in Winnipeg and Brandon; moreover, if any territory were annexed to Manitoba where separate schools already existed, Catholics would naturally object if they lost their schools. There was no conspiracy, he concluded, "the Federal Government had absolutely no knowledge of it. It was a private conversation and simply intended to express a suggestion and a desire that the condition of the Catholics in the respects mentioned should be improved. Any other assumption or interpretation is altogether unfounded."[169] The Manitoba Free

Press later called Rogers' performance "a deliberate attempt to dupe and gull the public."[170] Rogers made no effort to substantiate his allegation and the Commons turned to the debate on the autonomy bills.

Second reading of the bills on May 3, 1905, coincided with a meeting between the apostolic delegate and eighteen bishops in Montreal. The bishops opposed Sifton's school clause and opted for Laurier's original draft, but the delegate felt that with amendments the former could gain their approval.[171] The particular concession Sbaretti wanted was that Catholics be allowed to establish separate school districts even though no public school districts existed therein, but Laurier refused to tamper with Sifton's clause in this fashion.[172] Bishop Labreque of Chicoutimi had visions of another approaching catastrophe in the west: "nous marchons à l'abîme" and Laurier was leading the way.[173] Sbaretti saw a ray of hope when Laurier made Frank Oliver his new Minister of the Interior but Oliver made no special effort to modify the direction of events on behalf of separate schools.

Rome acknowledged Laurier's sincerity when it heard of his offer to resign and Langevin directed his wrath towards those politicians who "trahissent la course du droit sous le faux prétexte de ne pas provoquer l'explosion de fanatisme!"[174] But to Bégin, whom he trusted implicitly with his deepest emotions, Laurier emerged as "cet homme néfaste."[175] Only three bishops shared Langevin's view of the situation, Bégin of Québec, Duhamel of Ottawa, and Bernard of St. Hyacinthe; the rest were in the delegate's camp, Langevin wrote Gotti. It was wrong to support Laurier, he added.[176] Another heavy blow to the archbishop fell when he learned of the formal complaint made against him to Rome by some English-speaking Catholics in his diocese:

> English speaking Catholics cannot well enthuse over or have fullest confidence in any educational movement directed by a French Canadian Bishop when it is so frequently evident that the results are not as satisfactory as those carried out according to [the] English way of thinking.[177]

When the autonomy bills came up for third reading on June 27 four amendments were proposed, only one of which was accepted. The need for amendment to guarantee separate school rights was obvious to Monk, who had warned Langevin in April that the federal government would never again get involved with education in the provinces.[178] The amendment proposed by John H. Lamont, Liberal member for Saskatchewan, would permit a half-hour of religious instruction in every school district in the new provinces at the discretion of the trustees. Lamont justified his proposal on the basis that religious instruction would be assured in the Catholic public as well as the Catholic separate schools and would make the Catholic schools distinct from the non-Catholic public schools. The amendment passed as did Sifton's clause.[179] The new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were created by acts of parliament on July 5, 1905. No legislation affecting Manitoba's boundaries was introduced and several more years passed before the issue was resolved.

In retrospect, Langevin would not blame any of the bishops for not signing a collective letter during their meeting in Montreal; the fate of the separate schools rested with Sbaretti, who failed to act as Langevin wished. It was a constraint on the liberty of bishops, he confided to Bruchési.[180] Langevin would therefore not attend the yearly meeting of archbishops in Ottawa: "Ce que je demande, au moins, c'est que dans aucune réunion d'évêques, on ne nous demande plus désormais, à nous les évêques interessés, de garder silence quand il s'agira d'éclairer nos fidelès et de réclamer nos droits impréscriptables."[181] Since political parties were already contesting the forthcoming elections in the new provinces, Langevin was preparing a circular to his clergy in Saskatchewan explaining why Catholics should vote for Walter Scott, a Liberal, who seemed to favour separate schools, over Frederick Haultain, a Conservative who did not.[182] Langevin recounted later to his friend Bégin how he had happened to meet Sbaretti in Rome at the Canadian college: "j'ai eu l'occasion de dire publiquement à table, que Sir. W. avait trahit les intérêts des Catholiques en 1905 lors de l'érection des deux nouvelles provinces! Or, le bon Délégué a dit déjà que le résultat final était un triomphe pour les Catholiques!"[183]

Summary

Archbishop Langevin continued to negotiate with the Manitoba government but in entirely different circumstances after the events of 1899. In that year Manitoba became a Conservative stronghold. The archbishop and the new premier, Hugh John Macdonald, saw eye to eye on a possible solution to the school problem - the creation of a provincial board of education. When Rodmond Roblin became premier the following year, close political co-operation developed immediately and Langevin could foresee the eventual satisfactory conclusion of the whole issue. Also, in 1899, the Liberals succeeded in having a permanent apostolic delegate assigned to Canada. One of the delegate's first acts was to overrule an appeal to the federal cabinet over

Catholic schools. He also refused a Canada-wide subscription to support Manitoba's parochial school system, leaving Langevin with meagre resources and the necessity of relying on private contributions to finance the system.

After another Liberal victory in the federal elections of 1900, Prime Minister Laurier took the initiative to restore separate schools in Manitoba. In return for a transfer of the school lands under federal jurisdiction he would have a viable Catholic system erected, under a single administration and supported out of public funds. Roblin refused to negotiate because the Winnipeg school board would not compromise. Langevin, however, was prepared to negotiate, realizing that Roblin was jeopardizing full restoration of the school rights guaranteed under the British North America Act. Laurier tried personal diplomacy by travelling to Winnipeg but failed to get a satisfactory agreement signed. In spite of the inconclusive outcome of a full year of negotiating, Laurier proclaimed before the pope that the school question in Manitoba was settled. Langevin correctly observed that this was manifestly not the case.

With the initiative lost, Laurier complained to Sbaretti, the new apostolic delegate, that Archbishop Langevin was the principal stumbling block to any final agreement. That his assessment was not received well in Rome, especially after Merry del Val became Vatican Secretary of State, is indicated by the fact that Laurier was encouraged to make a further effort to resolve the school issue. What the apostolic delegate suggested very soon thereafter was an amendment to the Manitoba school act that would re-establish Catholic schools in rural and urban areas. Laurier agreed to another attempt and named Clifford Sifton to find a solution. When negotiations petered out, Rome requested Laurier to deal directly with the Manitoba government. Langevin, too, while in Rome received encouragement from the pope to maintain pressure on the civil authorities.

The prime minister devised a bill that would allow separate schools in the two new Western Canadian provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Langevin felt that Laurier had finally been forced to take a stand and praised ~~him~~ sincerely for doing so. Roblin had previously primed Langevin to have the Manitoba school issue resolved while policy for the new provinces was being formulated. When Laurier allowed his school clauses to be re-written, Langevin vented his spleen against what he considered an unprincipled politician. Sbaretti also wished the Manitoba issue to be resolved when the new provinces were being created, but Laurier did not dare introduce any other measure that could inflame religious and ethnic passions.

Rome acknowledged Laurier's honest concern for the fate of Catholic schools when he put his job on the line by threatening to resign. Sbaretti realized that Laurier could be pushed no further and refused to sanction collective action by the episcopacy through a public letter or by any other means. Langevin, however, felt that it was the right issue at the right time, and collective action by the bishops would have had the desired effect without inciting national disorder. According to him, instead of pressing home the advantage, Laurier had let the opportunity pass. Even Sbaretti appeared to be his accomplice in the fiasco. To demonstrate his own impartiality, and to impress all that his overriding concern was Catholic education, Langevin threw his support behind a Liberal candidate who supported separate schools in Saskatchewan.

1. Langevin papers, DH, Lenius to Langevin, June 5, 1899.
2. *Ibid.*, LB 1, Langevin to Falconio, October 20, 1899.
3. *Ibid.*, LB 1, same to same, December 17, 1899.
4. *Ibid.*, LB 1, same to same, February 13, 1900.
5. *Ibid.*, DH. Laurier to Langevin, January 22, 1900.
6. *Ibid.*, LB 1, Langevin to Falconio, February 3, 1900.
7. *Ibid.*, LB 1, Langevin to Duhamel, March 5, 1900.
8. *Ibid.*, LB 1, Langevin to Falconio, March 5, 1900.
9. *Ibid.*, DH, O'Connor to Langevin, March 4, 1900.
10. *Ibid.*, DH, Macdonald to Langevin, March 15, 1900.
11. *Ibid.*, DH, Winnipeg Public School Board to Mr. J.G. Carroll, Chairman, Deputation of Catholic School Board, April 4, 1900.
12. *Ibid.*, LB 1, Langevin to Falconio, March 29, 1900.
13. *Ibid.*, LB 1, Langevin to Drummond, March 29, 1900.
14. *Ibid.*, LB 1, Langevin to Carroll, April 7, 1900.
15. *Ibid.*, LB 1, Langevin to Falconio, April 14, 1900.
16. *Ibid.*, LB 1, same to same, April 21, 1900.
17. *Ibid.*, DH, "To Our dear Catholic people of Winnipeg," June 2, 1900.
18. *Ibid.*, LB 2, Langevin to Falconio, June 4, 1900.
19. *Ibid.*, DH, "A.T." [Ledochowski] to Langevin, June 19, 1900.
20. *Ibid.*, LB 1, Langevin to Falconio, April 21, 1900.
21. *Ibid.*, DH, Macdonald to Langevin, June 4, 1900.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Morton, *op. cit.*, 283.
24. Langevin Papers, LB 2, Langevin to Falconio, June 4, 1900.
25. *Ibid.*, LB 2, same to same, June 21, 1900.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*, LB 2, same to same, July 12, 1900.

28. *Ibid.*, LB 2, same to same, June 21, 1900, and Langevin to Marois, December 5, 1900.

29. *Ibid.*, LB 2, Langevin to Falconio, July 12, 1900.

30. *Ibid.*, LB 2, same to same, June 21, 1900.

31. *Ibid.*, DH, Falconio to Langevin, July 21, 1900.

32. *Ibid.*, LB 2, Langevin to Falconio, July 31, 1900.

33. Laurier Papers, Bertrand to Laurier, September 22, 1900.

34. Langevin Papers, DH, LaRivière to Langevin, August 3, 1900.

35. *Ibid.*, LB 2, Langevin to Falconio, September 3, 1900.

36. *Ibid.*, LB 2, same to same, October 15, 1900.

37. Beck, *Pendulum of Power*, 87-96.

38. Langevin Papers, LB 2, Langevin to Mon *Rme* et bien cher père, November 8, 1900.

39. *Ibid.*, LB 2, Langevin to Lauzon, November 15, 1900, and Langevin to S.A.D. Bertrand and H. Beliveau, November 16, 1900.

40. Turenne, *op. cit.*, 58.

41. Langevin Papers, LB 2, Langevin to Mager, November 19, 1900.

42. *Manitoba Free Press*, November 24, 1900.

43. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1900.

44. Langevin Papers, LB 2, Langevin to Bernier, November 26, 1900.

45. *Ibid.*, JQ, January 5, 1900.

46. *Ibid.*, JQ, January 13, 1900.

47. *Ibid.*, LB 2, Langevin to Falconio, June 4, 1900. Langevin's underlining.

48. *Ibid.*, LB 2, same to same, November 29, 1900.

49. *Ibid.*, LB 2, same to same, November 29, 1900, a second letter.

50. Inglis, *op. cit.*, 2.

51. Langevin Papers, LB 2, Langevin to Duhamel, December 19, 1900.

52. *Ibid.*, DH, "Mémoire adressé au Vénérable Episcopat Canadien sur La Question Scolaire au Manitoba par Mgr. L'Archevêque de Saint Boniface," December 8, 1900.

53. *Ibid.*, LB 2, Langevin to Duhamel, December 19, 1900.

54. *Ibid.*, LB 2, Langevin to Bourassa, December 6, 1900.

55. Wade, *op. cit.*, I, 497-8.

56. Langevin Papers, DH, Bourassa to Langevin, December 19, 1900.

57. *Ibid.*, LB 3, Langevin to Bourassa, December 28, 1900.

58. *Ibid.*, DH, O'Connor to Langevin, December (?), 1900.

59. *Ibid.*, LB 3, Langevin To Duhamel, January 8, 1901.

60. *Ibid.*, DH, Laurier to Langevin, January 12, 1901.

61. *Ibid.*, LB 3, Langevin to Roblin, January 31, 1901.

62. Laurier Papers, Laurier to Falconio, February 5, 1901.

63. *Ibid.*

64. Langevin Papers, LB 3, Langevin to Roblin, January 31, 1901. Langevin's underlining.

65. *Ibid.*, LB 3, Langevin to Falconio, February 13, 1901.

66. *Ibid.*, DH, Laurier to Langevin, February 26, 1901.

67. *Ibid.*, LB 3, Langevin to Laurier, March 20, 1901.

68. *Ibid.*, LB 3, Langevin to Falconio, March 20, 1901.

69. *Ibid.*, LB 3, Langevin to Laurier, March 27, 1901.

70. *Ibid.*, LB 3, Langevin to Duhamel, March 22, 1901.

71. *Il Cardinale Diomede Falconio O.F.M.* (Provincia dei Fratre Minori di Abruzzo. L'Aguila: S. Bernardino, 1968), III.
March 24, 1901
Mi parla dell'imbarazzo in cui lo pone N.N. [Bole] per la sua leggerezza ed imprudenza riguardo al regolamento scolastico. Ne suggerisce la rimozione oppure che sia delegate altra persona.

72. Langevin Papers, LB 3, Langevin to Duhamel, March 22, 1901. See W.L. Morton, op. cit., 284-5.

73. Langevin Papers, LB 3, Langevin to Grandin, March 23, 1901.

74. Ibid., DH, Laurier to Langevin, April 1, 1901.

75. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Ledochowski, April 2, 1901.

76. Ibid., DH, Falconio to Langevin, April 8, 1901.

77. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Ledochowski, April 13, 1901.

78. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Augier, April 10, 1901.

79. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Lavergne, May 10, 1901.

80. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Audet, May 10, 1901.

81. Ibid., LB 3, Beliveau to Goulet, April 24, 1901.

82. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Bole, May 15, 1901.

83. Laurier Papers, Falconio to Laurier, June 1, 1901, and Laurier to Falconio, June 3, 1901. A copy of this "settlement" could not be found.

84. Langevin Papers, LB 3, Langevin to Roblin, August 3, 1901.

85. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Falconio, August 12, 1901.

86. Ibid., DH, Falconio to Langevin, August 17, 1901.

87. Laurier Papers, Falconio to Laurier, August 23, 1901.

88. Langevin Papers, LB 3, Langevin to Laurier, August 31, 1901.

89. Laurier Papers, Langevin to Blumhart, September 2, 1901.

90. Langevin Papers, LB 3, Langevin to Bégin, September 2, 1901.

91. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Falconio, September 2, 1901.

92. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Bernier, September 2, 1901.

93. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Laurier, September 3, 1901.

94. Ibid., DH, Falconio to Langevin, September 7, 1901.

95. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Roblin, September 10, 1901.

96. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to Falconio, September 21, 1901.

97. *Ibid.*, LB 3, "Document Sécrète," October 7, 1901.

98. *Ibid.*, DH, Falconio to Langevin, November 8, 1901.

99. Laurier Papers, #60986. This memo is unsigned but nearly duplicates that contained in letter #60985, which is also unsigned but a replica of Langevin's letter to Laurier #60974, dated December 23, 1901. It reads:

Memo: re Manitoba School Lands, as per claim

Total Acres	2,277,900		
Sold	272,783	for	$4,173,723.04
Unsold	2,005,117 acre		

1st January, 1901 - Principal and Interest at credit - $944,349

Expenses and Paid Manitoba - 210,117

Balance at credit of Fund $733,731 [*sic*]

100. Langevin Papers, DH, Langevin to Laurier, December 23, 1901.

101. *Ibid.*, DH, Laurier to Langevin, January 30, 1902.

102. *Ibid.*, DH. Bourassa to Langevin, March 30, 1902.

103. *Ibid.*, DH, Blumhart to Langevin, May [4], 1902.

104. *Ibid.*, LB 4, Langevin to Fitzpatrick, June 17, 1902.

105. *Ibid.*, LB 5, same to same, August 28, 1902.

106. Ibid., LB 5, Langevin to Bruchési, November 14, 1902.

107. *Les Cloches De Saint Boniface*, Janvier 6, 1903, 69.

108. *Ibid.*, 9.

109. Langevin Papers, QS 1901-4, Janvier, 1903, "Ecoles du Diocèse de St. Boniface" and "Mémoire Destinée à Son Ex Mgr. Sbaretti, Del. Ap. sur la situation des écoles catholiques libres de Winnipeg."

110. *Ibid.*, LB 5, Langevin to Taillon, January 14, 1903.

111. *Ibid.*, LB 5, Langevin to Bruchési, January 24, 1903.

112. *Ibid.*, LB 5, Langevin to Sbaretti, March 1, 1903. Langevin pressed for a direct appeal to Edward VII to intervene in the school question. See *ibid.*, MLNP, "To the King's most Excellent Majesty," [n.d.].

113. *Ibid.*, LB 5, Langevin to Macdonald, March 12, 1903.

114. *Ibid.*, LB 5, same to same, March 16, 1903.

115. *Ibid.*, LB 5, Langevin to Danson, March 13, 1903.

116. *Ibid.*, LB 5, Langevin to Sbaretti, April 25, 1903.

117. *Ibid.*, LB 5, same to same, May 3, 1903.

118. Laurier Papers, Laurier to Sbaretti, May 30, 1903.

119. Langevin Papers, LB 5, Langevin to Sbaretti, July 15, 1903.

120. *Ibid.*, DA, Sbaretti to Langevin, July 15, 1903.

121. Ross, *op. cit.*, 101.

122. Langevin Papers, LB 6, Langevin to Lachapelle, July 18, 1903.

123. Turenne, *op. cit.*, 69.

124. Langevin Papers, LB 6, Langevin to Monk, August 6, 1903.

125. *Ibid.*, OS, LaRivière to Langevin, August 6, 1903.

126. *Ibid.*, LB 6, Langevin to Sbaretti, August 14, 1903.

127. *Ibid.*, LB 6, Langevin to LaRivière, September 11, 1903.

128. See Chapter III, footnote 86.

129. Quoted in the *Canadian Annual Review*, 1902, 69.

130. *Ibid.*, 70.

131. *Ibid.*, LB 6, Langevin to LaRivière, September 11, 1903.

132. *Ibid.*, LB 6, Langevin to Duhamel, September 25, 1903.

133. *Ibid.*, LB 6, Langevin to Sbaretti, November 26, 1903.

134. Laurier Papers, Merry del Val to Laurier, November 15, 1903. Pope Leo XIII died in May 1903 and Pius X was elected as his successor. Langevin sent Merry del Val his congratulations as the new Secretary of State on November 21, 1903.

135. Langevin Papers, LB 6, Langevin to Sbaretti, December 3, 1903.

136. *Ibid*., same to same, December 5, 1903.

137. *Ibid*., LB 6, Langevin to Gotti, December 8, 1903. Cardinal Gotti was made Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith after Ledochowski's retirement in 1903.

138. *Ibid*., LB 6, Langevin to Merry del Val, December (?), 1903.

139. *Ibid*., DA, Sbaretti to Langevin, December 11, 1903.

140. Laurier Papers, Sbaretti to Laurier, December 26, 1903.

141. *Ibid*.

142. Langevin Papers, LB 6, Langevin to Sbaretti, December 31, 1903.

143. *Ibid*., same to same, January 7, 1904.

144. *Ibid*., same to same, February 27, 1904.

145. Laurier Papers, Laurier to Merry del Val, March 1, 1904.

146. *Ibid*., Merry del Val to Laurier, April 1, 1904.

147. Langevin Papers, LB 6, Langevin to Szeptycki, November 28, 1903.

148. *Ibid*., QS, Langevin to Sbaretti, April 23, 1904.

149. Laurier Papers, Laurier to Merry del Val, May 26, 1904.

150. *Ibid*., Sbaretti to Laurier, June 29, 1904.

151. *Ibid*.

152. *Ibid*., Laurier to Sbaretti, July 2, 1904. Sbaretti's legal opinion could not be found.

153. Morice, *Vie de Monseigneur Langevin*, 216.

154. *Ibid*.

155. Beck, *op. cit*., 96-106.

156. Langevin Papers, LB 7, Langevin à Mes Venerables Suffragants à Rome, November 26, 1904.

157. *Ibid*., QS, Barrett to Langevin, December 9, 1904.

158. *Ibid*., LB 7, Langevin to Sbaretti, December 16, 1904.

159. Laurier Papers, Sbaretti to Laurier, January 21, 1905.

160. Langevin Papers, LB 7, Langevin to Sbaretti, February 19, 1905.

161. *Ibid.*, same to same, February 24, 1905.

162. Dafoe, *op. cit.*, 78-9.

163. Lupul, *op. cit.*, 785, *Edmonton Bulletin*, February 28, 1905.

164. Langevin Papers, DA, Sbaretti to Langevin, March 25, 1905.

165. *Ibid.*, LB 7, Langevin to Sbaretti, March 30, 1905.

166. R. Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912," in *Minorities, Schools and Politics*, R. Cook, C. Brown and C. Berger, (eds.) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 27.

167. Quoted in *Canadian Annual Review*, 1905, 93.

168. House of Commons, *Debates*, April 5, 1905, cols, 3835-46.

169. *Canadian Annual Review*, 1905, 95-96.

170. *Manitoba Free Press*, April 7, 1908.

171. Laurier Papers, Sbaretti to Laurier, May 7, 1905.

172. *Ibid.*, same to same, June 25, 1905.

173. Langevin Papers, QS, the Bishop of Chicoutimi to Langevin, April 4, 1905.

174. *Ibid.*, QS, Lemieux to Langevin, May 25, 1905, and *ibid.*, LB 8, Langevin to Haccault, June 1, 1905.

175. *Ibid.*, QS, Langevin to Bégin, June 10, 1905.

176. *Ibid.*, QS, Langevin to Gotti, June 17, 1905.

177. *Ibid.*, QS, [unsigned] to Merry del Val, June 17, 1905.

178. *Ibid.*, QS, Monk to Langevin, April 13, 1905.

179. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1905, cols, 8387-88.

180. Langevin Papers, LB 8, Langevin to Bruchési, September 28, 1905.

181. *Ibid.*, LB 8, Langevin to Duhamel, September 27, 1905.

182. *Ibid.*, QS, Langevin to Monsieur le Curé, October 10, 1905.

183. *Ibid.*, LB 9, Langevin to Bégin, December 3, 1906.

CHAPTER V

THE PROBLEM OF ROMAN CATHOLIC UNITY OF EFFORT

Immigration

In 1898, Langevin became concerned about the mounting immigration in his diocese. Sifton's policy to populate the west brought thousands of immigrants into the central interior of Canada. Langevin estimated that since 1896 over 20,000 Galicians were in Manitoba and the Northwest and of that number 15,000 were in his diocese. To care for their religious needs he needed "Ruthenian" (i.e., Ukrainian) priests and began scouring North America and Europe for help. Latin-rite priests were not welcome and Protestant clergy had begun proselytizing; the need was urgent. He feared that "la prochaine génération sera presque toute hérétique ou athée ou au moins indifférents," a situation that would be a spiritual disaster for "ces bons gens."[1] Father Lacombe had been sent to Rome and Vienna to encourage priests to emigrate with their own people, and had told the Hapsburg Emperor of the plight of his former subjects in Canada.[2] On October 1, 1900 Langevin sent his personal invitation to Andrew Szeptycki, Archbishop of Lemberg, to visit Manitoba; in December an official request for his visit was sent to Falconio by the Catholic hierarchy of Manitoba and the Northwest.[3] Langevin hoped to get the Basilains to work among their Ukrainian countrymen. Father Delaere, a French Canadian priest who would eventually spend the rest of his life among the immigrant Slavs, was already working with them. Langevin wanted priests to establish schools at Oakburn and Yorkton where large numbers were settling.[4] He also tried to persuade the Principal of the Ottawa Normal School, J. McCabe, to interest Catholic teachers to move west and employ their talents among the immigrants.[5] He fully realized that supplying schools for the newcomers would put an additional strain on his already meagre resources.

Local politicians and clergy were increasingly forced to turn their attention to immigrant needs. A delegation from Winnipeg met with Premier Roblin on January 2, 1902 to find more efficient ways and means of educating the Galicians in the province. The delegation felt that it was the duty of the province, standing in loco parentis, to establish schools where English could be taught, and also pressed the premier to impose compulsory education as he had apparently promised in 1900. Roblin refused because "the finances of the Province simply could not stand the extra burden." The appropriate time to consider that question was when the federal government handed over the school lands to the province. Besides, the government was considering a "re-adjustment" of the whole educational system that included a consideration of compulsory education.[6]

In an address to the Catholic Club of Winnipeg three days later Langevin declared:

> Schools must be established for them according to the law, and the English language should be taught in those schools. The school law of the country had also consecrated the bi-lingual system and these people as a matter of right might have their children taught their own language, together with the English, and as a matter of fact if they desired it strongly. But, if all agreed that English must be taught, all did not admit the desirability of teaching their national language. Now the Gallicians [sic] believed they must keep their language, particularly, because they believed it was the best means to keep their faith.[7]

"La langue est le rampart protectueux qui protege la citadelle de la foi," the archbishop announced in his search for multilingual priests.[8] He estimated there were now more than 105 schools teaching 4,000 children in his diocese and more were required.[9] Only one Slavic Catholic school with 125 Galician pupils was operating in Winnipeg, yet many more children were waiting to be accepted.[10] Langevin proposed a Galician normal school to train Catholic teachers but was discouraged by Falconio, who did not believe that the Manitoba government was prepared to extend special privileges to these people. The only languages recognized in Canada were English and French, and it was imperative to place Catholic teachers before Catholic students, the delegate advised.[11]

Another threat envisaged by Langevin was the incorporation of the Russo-Greek Catholic Orthodox Church in Canada. Because the name of the church could confuse the immigrants, the archbishop attempted to have the word "Catholic" expunged from its official title. Laurier was deaf to all exhortations from LaRivière and Monk on the archbishop's behalf and allowed the bill to proceed without amendment.[12] Langevin felt the St. Boniface normal school was even more urgent now, for its function would be "pour les Galiciens surtout."[13] The tender for the normal school was let in September 1902, and construction began.

At the same time Langevin asked Roblin about an inspector for the Galicians.[14] In December 1902, the archbishop recommended a Yorkton resident, John Baderski, as inspector for Galician schools.[15] He was promptly hired and by the summer of 1903 reported to Langevin that he had established twenty-four new school districts and re-formed seven others, all among the Slavic immigrant population.[16] He also proposed and helped establish the Winnipeg normal school in 1905; its

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purpose was to educate Slavic teachers to work among their countrymen, principally Poles and Ukrainians. Baderski became involved politically with the Liberal party and after the bitter provincial election of 1907 was ousted from his position in the Department of Education. Roblin claimed his performance was unsatisfactory but it was W.H. Hastings, organizer for the Conservative party in Manitoba, who recommended two alternative candidates for Baderski's position and requested the archbishop to pick one. Although Langevin had heard of complaints against the inspector from among Ukrainians at the Winnipeg normal school, and also of the purported sum of money offered him to work for the Liberal party, he advised Roblin not to replace him.[18] Nonetheless, Baderski was removed from the inspectorate but remained organizer of schools among foreign-speaking peoples. T. Stefanik, one of the candidates proposed by Hastings, was also hired to the same position.[19] Also in 1907, the normal school for Ukrainians was transferred from Winnipeg to Brandon.[20]

In 1909, a statistical survey of the diocese of St. Boniface produced the following results:

Population catholique de langue française	33,786
Population catholique de langue anglaise	11,181
Population catholique de langue allemande	10,789
Population catholique de langue polonaise	13,195
Population catholique de langue indienne	3,882
Population catholique de l'autres langues	5,240
Total	78,073
La Population de langue ruthène est d'environ	45,000
Grand Total	123,073[21]

It was Langevin's firm conviction that "les Canadiens et les autres catholiques de langue française maintiendront leur position au Manitoba ... et aussi ailleurs, dans l'ouest si le française est enseigné dans l'école."[22] However, since the Ukrainians were now the largest Catholic linguistic group in his diocese, certain provisions had to be made for them; accordingly, a new normal school for Polish and Ukrainian students was opened in Winnipeg under Catholic auspices.[23] Langevin complained to Roblin that "Stephanic" had been retained as school organizer in spite of his remonstrations and those of the Ukrainian priests.[24] When the archbishop learned that a Protestant was being considered for the principalship of the Galician normal school in Winnipeg, he informed Rogers that "we have no use for it."[25] The Department of Education relented, hired the archbishop's candidate, and the school began receiving candidates.[26] In April 1909, Langevin accused the principal of the Ukrainian normal school in Brandon, Mr. Cressey, of allowing Baptist and Presbyterian ministers to proselytize among the candidates at the school and objected that Catholics there should have to undergo such treatment.[27] It were better that these students be transferred to Winnipeg and seven were sent at the end of the year.[28]

There were 183 bilingual Catholic schools in rural Manitoba in 1909, of which 120 were French, 40 German, and 23 Galician.[29] More could have been organized but the department was preventing this by restricting the activities of Catholic inspectors. Baderski was ready to quit in June 1909; he complained that the whole province was under the control of English inspectors.[30] French inspectors in the province were being impeded as well as the Slavs, and the archbishop complained to the government but without result.[31]

Archbishop Andrew Szepycki arrived in Manitoba in October 1910 to get a first-hand look at the religious needs of Ukrainians in the west. He was immediately attacked in the Conservative paper, the Telegram, and Langevin was obliged to ask Rogers to stop the offensive articles.[32] Szeptycki was aware that a ten-year collection for Ukrainian mission work had been authorized at the first plenary episcopal council in Canada.[33] In his own archdiocese Langevin could point to a minor seminary, a normal school, bilingual schools, and a proposed Ukrainian school in Winnipeg as examples of his solicitude for Ukrainians in his diocese. Szeptycki was reported to be perturbed that Ukrainians were being taught in French-Canadian schools rather than their own, but some of his concern was dispelled when he witnessed what was being done in these schools to preserve Ukrainian culture. After watching a Ukrainian concert at a French-Canadian school in Sifton, he was so impressed he offered $500 for the school's support.[34] A new Ukrainian organizer of school districts, P. Gigiejczuk, had also been hired with Langevin's approval.[35] Szeptycki's visit led eventually to the appointment in August 1912 of Mgr. N. Budka as the first bishop of Ukrainians in Canada.[36]

Dissention in Catholic Ranks

Another acrimonious debate was brewing, which would split the Canadian Catholic hierarchy along linguistic lines and remain long after Langevin had passed from the scene. Early in 1905, F. Russell of the Winnipeg Catholic School Committee charged J.K. Barrett with sabotaging the work of the committee and referred the problem to the archbishop. Barrett was a leader of the Catholic faction that had mounted the attack on the 1890 school act and his apparent about-face appalled Langevin. He was charged with criticizing his ecclesiastical superiors, refusing to contribute to the new St. Mary's school in Winnipeg, and insulting the school committee. Barrett's letter to Langevin, in which he referred sarcastically to the "crackling old ladies" who informed on him and the "flattering friends" of the archbishop, alienated Langevin still further. But Barrett would not deny that he differed with the way the archbishop conducted political business: "I was of the opinion that a little tact and conciliation would have strengthened your Grace's position with the Government of Canada, and made you master; that there were other pressing needs in Winnipeg besides a French-Canadian church."[37] Langevin also took exception to the fact that Mgr. Sbaretti had intervened in the internal affairs of Langevin's archdiocese after he had been informed of the archbishop's plans for a new church.[38] The charges were corroborated: Barrett was rebelling; it was the parting of the ways.[39] Four months later, in June 1905, at the height of the debate on the autonomy bills, the formal letter criticizing Archbishop Langevin was sent to Merry del Val in Rome.[40]

Langevin had begun a building fund for a large cathedral in 1903 and on August 15, 1906 the cornerstone was laid. It was a gala occasion for dignitaries of church and state. As a special favour and as a sign of his esteem, Langevin inscribed Premier Roblin's name on parchment and placed it in the cornerstone.[41] The same occasion allowed for somewhat of a reconciliation among the various factions within the Catholic hierarchy after the tension and ill-feeling created during the past year. During the months of September and October Langevin attended a General Chapter of the Oblate Order in Rome and returned in November to resume his pastoral duties in the Canadian west.[42]

After he returned from Europe, Langevin met with a deputation of eleven Irish Catholics who made three requests: English-speaking priests for Winnipeg parishes, an exclusively English-speaking college in Winnipeg, and an English-speaking suffragan bishop. To the first demand Langevin readily acceded; in fact St. Mary's church already had two English priests. As for the second, the bilingual St. Boniface College, affiliated with the University of Manitoba, with Jesuit teachers, had shown up well in competition with other colleges of the university. And as a bilingual institution with students of various nationalities, it had in some ways a distinct advantage over the other colleges. The third request exasperated him. It was none of the delegation's business who the bishop was; the pope named the bishops as was his right. The effrontery of the Irish was annoying: "Je serais l'évêque le plus heureux du monde si les Irlandais voulaient bien imiter les autres nationalités (Allemands, Français, Polonais, etc.) en se groupant ensemble, au lieu de se meler aux protestants."[43] "Si nous ne sommes pas English-speaking," he wrote Cherrier, "nous sommes des Speaking-English priests, professors and archbishops! ... O tempora! O mores!"[44] Even the apostolic delegate subscribed to the thesis that "this is an English-speaking country," Langevin complained to Duhamel.[45]

When Archbishop O'Connor of Toronto died in 1908, Langevin recommended the transfer and elevation of Bishop F. McEvoy of Windsor to Toronto.[46] He changed his mind, however, and recommended Bishop Scollard of Sault-Ste. Marie for Toronto and the attachment of Scollard's diocese to Bishop Duhamel of Ottawa because of the preponderance of French-speaking Catholics in it.[47] After being confronted with the Irish attitude towards ecclesiastical authority, Langevin believed that the future of Catholicism in Ontario depended on French Canadians.[48] The archbishop resolved that during the next meeting of the Western Canadian Catholic hierarchy in May, he would press for the prior establishment of the vicariate of Keewatin in spite of the rapidly increasing population around Regina.[49]

In May Langevin was forced to take a rest on doctor's orders and left for a three month's stay in Europe. Before leaving he dipped briefly into Winnipeg politics by cautioning Catholics not to vote for a resolution to raise $300,000 for new schools in the city. It may have been a coincidence that he issued his directive on the day that Roblin and Campbell paid him a visit ostensibly to ascertain his views on a legal opinion that would allow Winnipeg's Catholic children to be educated in their own schools.[50] One final decision was to recommend Rev. Ovide Charlebois, Principal of the Indian School at Duck Lake (Lac Canard), as bishop of the proposed new vicariate.[51]

In Rome Langevin met with Cardinal Gotti, who promised to withold the establishment of Regina diocese until the formation of the Keewatin vicariate had been settled. Langevin had cause to complain that the efforts of Canadian Irishmen to have an English-speaking bishop in Western Canada were being supported from the United States by a "Rev. Kelley of the 'Church Extensional Society'." To retain the hegemony of the French-speaking episcopate in the west, he recommended Rev. J. Nicolaye as dignissimus to the vacant see of Victoria, British Columbia.[52]

When Langevin returned from Europe he concentrated on the diminishing importance of the "French fact" in Manitoba. In a population that exceeded 370,00 in 1908, the French numbered only slightly more than 23,000 and the nature of the immigration into the province indicated that that proportion would not increase in the near future.[53] Langevin met with Roblin and advised his representative on the Advisory Board, Rev. A. Cherrier, of his requests: more French in school programs and approved French books for grades 6, 7, and 8.[54] When asked to review O'Donnell's book Manitoba As I Saw It, Langevin objected especially to his handling of Louis Riel. In the archbishop's eyes, Riel lead an "uprising" in 1870 and not a rebellion; his was an act of justice and courage. Riel's 1885 adventure was misguided.[55] Langevin also asked Roblin to support a private member's bill to incorporate "Les Missionaires Oblates de Saint Boniface," a religious society teaching in Manitoba, which was moving to Keewatin in 1909.[56] In every way he knew how, and with all the energy at his command, the archbishop was determined to preserve the "French fact" in Western Canada.

In Quebec a project to make the Plains of Abraham a national park sparked a minor but fundamental conflict between the apostolic delegate and the archbishop. In a letter to Governor-General Lord Grey, Mgr. Staretti complimented him on this undertaking because it would signify to all Canadians that, after the clash of arms, they had equal rights and duties for the well being of their common country. Perhaps unmindful of the import his public statement would have in some quarters, he extolled the British connection:

> Les évenements que ces champs de batailles rappellent, ont, pour nous, catholiques, un sens profond et plus important encore. Dans les sages désseins de la Divine Providence, ils etaient destinés à préparer la protection de notre église contre la persécution et la tyrannie d'oppresseurs anciens et nouveaux et pour la maintien de ses droits sacrés à l'ombre bienfaisante du drapeau anglais. La hierarchie canadienne et la population catholique ont, dans plusiers occasions solennelles et d'une manière qui ne prête pas à l'équivoque, par la parole et par les acts, montre combien c'était de cette façon qu'ils appréciaient cette reconnaissance et cette garantie de leurs droits. La Parc National rappellera à perpétuité aux générations futures la dette de gratitude et d'hommages qu'elles ont envers la Couronne Britannique.[57]

So long as Archbishop Langevin believed that Catholic constitutional rights were being violated in Canada he could subscribe neither to the delegate's sentiments nor to the request for a subscription to develop the park - he was insulted.

At the end of February 1909, Mgr. Sbaretti was approached by J.K. Barrett with a complaint against the archbishop and a simple, if drastic, solution to the school question. Langevin was too closely associated with the Conservative party, he declared, because of his antipathy towards Laurier: "Let us have a wise, prudent and conciliatory Churchman in Winnipeg," Barrett suggested, "and I confidently believe that the school trouble will be a thing of the past. Peace and harmony will reign where discord and bigotry now exist."[58] Sbaretti's answer is not known and Archbishop Langevin was not replaced. But this event was consistent with the growing demand among English-speaking elements to exert pressure at higher levels of ecclesiastical administration to seat an English-speaking bishop in Western Canada.

In Langevin's opinion, the apostolic delegate was behind the plan to divide St. Boniface archdiocese and have an Irish bishop named for Regina. With growing chagrin he noted that English-speaking novices to the priesthood were being sent out of his archdiocese to be educated at St. Dunstan's College in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, rather than to the St. Boniface seminary. The Irish "ont resolu de faire la guerre" against the Canadiens, was the archbishop's melancholy conclusion.[59] When a Mr. Steadman proposed to have a branch of an American religious society established in Canada, Langevin asked, with gentle sarcasm, why a mere Canadian Catholic federation could not be organized.[60] At the end of January 1909, Langevin proposed that his secretary, Rev. Arthur Beliveau, be made his auxiliary with right of succession.[61] Toronto and not Quebec was becoming the focal point of Canadian Catholic activity, Langevin wrote to Bégin, and he would not countenance such a radical displacement of ecclesiastical power in Canada.[62] Langevin, after meeting with his suffragans again recommended Rev. O. Charlebois as Vicar Apostolic for the vicariate of Keewatin, and gave notice that if the Regina diocese were constituted, Rev. A. Cherrier was his choice for bishop.[63]

In September 1909, Langevin was in Quebec City at the first plenary council of the Catholic bishops and archbishops of Canada. As a result of the council's deliberations a pastoral letter on Catholic schools with particular reference to Manitoba was published. The council recognized that Catholic religious rights had been violated and had not been reconstituted "d'une façon suffisante." The letter complimented the manner in which resistance had been mounted in accord with the principles enunciated in the encyclical Affari vos. While condemning double taxation for Catholics in urban centres, it lauded provincial authorities for permitting a measure of religious freedom in rural areas. Parents had the right to educate their children and the church's duty was to give guidelines for the moral formation of the child; the state's duty was limited to aiding parents to fulfill their obligations. The state could not force children to attend schools objectionable to the conscience of their parents without committing "un abus criant." Christian parents then were obliged to "repousser la législation scolaire de 1890 et le système d'écoles publiques ou neutres qu'elle a etabli dans votre province." The council then pointed to the example of Great Britain where the parliament "la plus auguste assemblée constitutionelle qu'il ait dans l'univers" had confirmed the existence of denominational schools and their right to be supported by public funds. It deplored the lassitude of French Canadians in not defending their interests more vigorously but cautioned against discord, urging instead moderation and fraternal charity. And assuming the stance of an unbiased observer, it asked about Manitoba,

> Comment se fait-il que dans un région de cet Empire brittanique, si justement loué pour l'esprit de large tolérance religieuse qui y règne et dont bénéficie partout la religion catholique, puisse durer si longtemps et sans presque s'améliorer un état d'intolérance et d'injustice à l'égard de l'une des croyance religieuses de ce pays.?[64]

Langevin could only be pleased.

The nomination of two Irishmen to episcopal sees in Canada, Mgr. Fallon to London, Ontario, and especially Mgr. O'Neil to Vancouver, British Columbia, succeeding Mgr. Dontenville, became cause for worry for Archbishop Langevin; it signalled the continuing success of the Irish campaign to seat English-speaking bishops in Canada and he began to fear for Regina. "Il nous faudrait un Délégué sympathiques aux nôtres," he complained.[65] Nevertheless, Langevin attended Fallon's consecration and from there travelled directly to Rome to use his influence in the Regina case.[66] Before leaving, he wrote Cardinal Gotti in Rome that nominating a Ukrainian bishop for Canada would not be a desirable solution for the difficulties that that ethnic community was experiencing.[67] Langevin had barely returned to St. Boniface when Fallon launched his attack on Ontario's bilingual schools:

> Je suis opposé aux écoles bilingues parce qu'elles ne peuvent donner une éducation appropriée à nos besoins L'école bilingue ne réussit pas dans la province de Québec et ne réussira pas non plus dans cette province. Il y a conspiration contre les écoles séparées, parce-que nos ennemis voyant la division qui existe à propos des écoles bilingues s'en servirant pour affaiblir notre cause et partant nous enlever nos écoles.[68]

It was the culmination of the growing rancor between the two largest Catholic ethnic groups in Canada and it would leave bitter traces in relations between them for many years.

One month later, at the eucharistic congress in Montreal Mgr. F. Bourne, Archbishop of Westminister, England, gave a public address that Langevin understood to be a thinly veiled attack on the French language in the Canadian Catholic church. He was seated close to Henri Bourassa and remarked to him, "allez-vous laisser passer cela sans réponse?"[69] Rising to the occasion, Bourassa delivered a devastating reply in which he characterized Langevin as "le grand blessé de l'ouest'; the speech electrified the crowd and confirmed the theme of the unity of language and faith in French Canada.[70] In an interview given afterwards to Bourassa's Le Devoir, Bourne explained:

> Briefly my thesis was this: there is a problem before the Church in Canada and at the same time a great opportunity, both arising out of the rapid development of the West. Heretofore, the language of the country has been mainly French, and entirely on the side of the Church. While this remains the case in the East, the immense influx of immigrants

> is forming a great English-speaking people in the West. And their language is not on the side of the Church, but for 300 years has made for discord on religious matters.
>
> ....
>
> I invited the sympathy of a great international gathering for a scheme of uniting the whole catholic world in prayer that the English-speaking peoples may speedily return to the bosom of the Church.
>
> ....
>
> As to the French language ... I think it would be a calamity if it should lose any portion of the position it holds. But it might prove a greater calamity that an immense English speaking people should grow up in the Dominion, if that people should be wholly non-Catholic. Such a people is growing up, and the Catholic faith has somehow to be presented to them and maintained among them in their own tongue. The details of how that is to be done are in no way my business, but that of your own ecclesiastical authorities.[71]

The Manitoba Free Press commented that before Archbishop Bourne had made his public speech in Montreal he had made a hurried trip throughout the west and concluded that English was the medium through which the people living there would be reached. "This advice was doubtless unacceptable to the few - the very few - who still believe that it is possible for French to regain the position of equality with English which it held in this Province thirty years ago," it declared. And then referring to the products of bilingual schools in Manitoba, it considered them substandard because their pupils "will not be much better acquainted with the English language than were their parents who came here as adults from foreign countries."[72]

When Mgr. Gauthier, an English Canadian in spite of his French-sounding name, was named to succeed Mgr. Duhamel in the diocese of Ottawa, Langevin became thoroughly alarmed. Following immediately on the recent speech of the Archbishop of Westminster, the nomination signalled the growing power of the anglicizers in Canada. If the trend continued, Langevin thought, Quebec would be isolated ecclesiastically and linguistically in Canada. The battleground would be Western Canada, and Regina the test case. Since Fallon was leaving on his ad limina visit to Rome, Langevin decided that a laymen should be sent to counter any influence he might have with the Curia.[73] Accordingly, he approached Bourassa and Judge H. Taschereau, superior court justice in Quebec, to serve, but neither was disposed to go and in the end no one was sent.[74] In Ontario, Fallon denied he was opposed to bilingual schools but documented evidence was soon presented to the contrary.[75]

While these controversies agitated Eastern Canada, a series of anti-French articles appeared in the columns of the Manitoba Free Press. The author was a certain "Patricius," obviously an English Catholic, who directed a venomous public attack on Archbishop Langevin and the bilingual schools. In the October 6 letter, "Patricius" quoted Archbishop Bourne's Tablet of London, England: "from its old outpost at St. Boniface, the representatives of French Catholicism, which has done such splendid service in Canada, look out and claim as their own the new lands that are now being opened up." He observed that Langevin considered the loss of the French Canadian tongue as being a minor calamity yet that he was blind to the greater calamity of "having the Catholic faith wrapped up from them [i.e., the English-speaking] in the napkin of an unknown tongue."[76] The battle in Eastern Canada was waged in Langevin's name around Bishop Fallon, whom "Patricius" lauded as the "well considered choice of Rome''; it was Archbishop Langevin who was "at cross purposes (to put it mildly) with the HOLY SEE."[77] "Patricius" was the voice of those English-speaking Catholics who contended that the school question in Manitoba was no longer religious but linguistic. Langevin was the "blessé de Manitoba," as Bourassa had characterized him at the eucharistic congress, and both were propagating the same brand of ethnic nationalism.[78]

Others began to make serious charges about Langevin's meddling in political affairs. One writer remarked that the work done by the Catholic clergy for the Roblin government in the last election "entitled Monseigneur to some favours at the hands of those gentlemen," and continued,

> Is it possible that the honourable minister of education considers that all favours rendered to the government by the clergy on that and similar occasions are cancelled by allowing the existence of the bilingual schools for the French? We want equal rights with the French. We do not care whether the government be Grit or Tory so long as we get our rights.[79]

When Laurier arrived in Winnipeg and met a Catholic deputation in September, "Patricius" asked "did not your [i.e., Langevin's] henchman betray that what you wanted was Laurier's refusal? And was it not said some time ago that you wished to institute Galician, bi-lingual schools of Ruthenian and French?"[80] Another writer insisted that the school question was not an issue in the last provincial election because Langevin had convinced English-speaking Roman Catholics in Winnipeg that their school grievances could be remedied by Laurier rather than Roblin. But Laurier's response was clear, as the Free Press stated:

> Sir Wilfrid said that while he most decidedly would not approach Premier Roblin on any such matter, he would be willing to have Premier Roblin come to him and discuss the situation. As to whether he would concur in, or

> obstruct, any action taken by the Provincial Government to remedy grievances in connection with the school system Sir Wilfrid declared in the most clear cut and decided terms that the Dominion Government would not think of interfering, as any such action by the Provincial Government would be simply the exercise of a Provincial power in a matter of Provincial, not Dominion, jurisdiction.[81]

In December the school issue centred on the University of Manitoba. Langevin had declared in 1907 that an English college under Catholic church auspices was simply an expediency dictated by the restrictions of time and money. In 1910 Irish Catholics under Dr. J.A. Devine took the initiative by advocating a Catholic residence on University grounds on the condition that St. Boniface College withdraw its affiliation.[82] On February 9, 1911 the university voted itself a provincial state university; St. Boniface College retained its affiliation, although with reduced status. English Catholics were content with a "Latin philosophy" course on the curriculum.[83]

A brief interval and "Patricius" was at the French again. He complimented French Canadian laymen for opening their eves to the "pettiness of their Catholic leaders, who in the Northwest, are practically all priests." He also complimented the majority of the bishops of Canada who were Liberals "though, unlike His Grace of St. Boniface, they have too tender a feeling for their flocks, majority or minority, to take any part in politics."[84] In his last letter on January 11, he returned to the theme of religion and nationalism, again allying Langevin with Bourassa:

> He [Bourassa] wants French domination, and with it the Catholic religion, because it is the religion of the French. If the Archbishop of St. Boniface exposes himself with some calculated caution he and his clerical friends are absolutely in the same strain. Take up their "Organe", the Cloches; for all ten years of its brilliant career search it; you will hardly find a word of praise of the Catholic

> church that is not there and then shared out with "notre langue." The thing only escapes the brand of blasphemy by the mental reserve with which we must charitably credit them.[85]

Langevin made a moderate reply to the first letter of "Patricius" in October, but thereafter refused to make any further answer. He was not without his defenders, however: Irish Catholics such as Patrick Meagher wrote against "Patricius," and several associations such as the German Catholics of St. Joseph parish in Winnipeg, the Union Metisee of Manitoba, and l'Alliance National de St. Boniface passed resolutions voting confidence in the archbishop.[86]

In December 1910, J.K. Barrett approached Laurier with a proposal by which English Catholics would accept the Manitoba School Act, including a compulsory education clause, with the promise that Catholic teachers be employed in the public schools. The proposal foundered when the leader of the Manitoba Liberal Association could not be urged to adopt it and there seemed little hope that the Conservatives could be asked to support it. With Sbaretti in Rome and the new apostolic delegate to Canada not yet arrived, the Irish turned to Washington, D.C., and the former delegate, Mgr. Falconio. A delegation of Irish Catholics of Manitoba journeyed there to condemn Langevin:

> The whole national movement of which the Archbishop of St. Boniface is a leader, is not concerned in the interests of religion but its deadly enemy. Two strong factors are the controlling motives - namely, political and national domination, and the Archbishop of St. Boniface is a past master in both these objects.[87]

After Rome got wind of this unforeseen incursion into American church politics, the new apostolic delegate, Mgr. P. Stagni, was hurried to Canada.[88]

Summary

The proportion of Catholics in the Manitoba population rose slightly after 1900, accounting for approximately 16 per cent of the population by 1911. The French were displaced by the Slavs, especially the Ukrainians, as the largest Catholic ethnic group. English Catholics in the entire St. Boniface diocese constituted less than 10 per cent of the Catholic population therein. Ethnic parishes were established and priests were obtained from various quarters to serve the spiritual needs of their people.

To care for the educational needs of these various groups, Archbishop Langevin had inspectors appointed who could set up school districts and help trustees administer them. He got the government to establish French and Slavic normal schools to train teachers locally. He acknowledged at the turn of the century that the second language of all immigrants would be English and encouraged bilingual schools to be established according to the law. Langevin believed that the language of the Catholic immigrant was the "rampart" of his faith and was an essential element of a child's education. To lose one's language and become anglicized was to become Protestant, thus losing the faith. In 1910, even his close association with the incumbent Conservatives did not prevent the Department of Education from restricting the activities of Catholic inspectors in the execution of their legitimate duties.

The spilling-over into Canada and Manitoba of the American Irish influence in church affairs complicated matters considerably. In an ironic twist, the man who led the Catholic battle in the courts in 1890, J.K. Barrett, became the spokesman for the English-speaking faction trying to rid the Catholic population of a French-Canadian archbishop. According to Barrett, Langevin lacked "tact and conciliation," a specious accusation that obscured the real motive - an attempt to seat an English-speaking prelate in the archdiocese. Consequently, Langevin lobbied in Canada and Rome to have French-speaking bishops named to Western Canadian sees. English-speaking Catholics tried to remove Langevin, requesting Sbaretti to use his influence to do so. Their final charge was that Langevin had placed religion at the service of nationalism. Animosity between Langevin and the Irish reached it apex in 1910 when Bishop Fallon attacked bilingual education in Ontario and "Patricius" attempted to discredit the archbishop in the Manitoba Free Press.

In 1909, however, the Canadian Catholic hierarchy had given Langevin unqualified support for his schools, citing Manitoba for "intolerance and injustice" with regard to religious rights. Langevin seemed vindicated. But in 1912, the Free Press indirectly accused Langevin of trying to turn the clock back and re-establish "equality" between the French and English in Manitoba. It used for this purpose the fact that Archbishop Bourne's speech at the eucharistic congress implied that Catholicism in the west would thereafter be English-speaking. Bourne's statement flew directly in the face of the multilingual schools and society that Langevin espoused and the law permitted. Nevertheless, English-speaking Protestants and Catholics were united in forging a unilingual Western Canada.

1. Langevin papers, LB I, Langevin to Ragicot, December 20, 1899.

2. Ibid., "Report of Father Lacombe & Journey to Austria and Galicia."

3. Ibid., LB 2, Langevin to Szeptycki, October 1, 1900 and Langevin to Falconio December (?), 1900.

4. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to the Superior General of the Redemptorists, February 20, 1901.

5. Ibid., LB 3, Langevin to McCabe, March 2, 1901.

6. Canadian Annual Review, 1902, 467-8.

7. Quoted in Ibid, 486.

8. Langevin papers, LB 4, Langevin to Cassie, December 17, 1901.

9. Ibid., OCPM, November 21, 1901.

10. Canadian Annual Review, 1902, 468.

11. Langevin papers, DH, Falconio to Langevin, January 18, 1902.

12. An Act to incorporate the Bishop of the Orthodox Russo-Greek Catholic Church for North America and Aleutian Islands. Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1902.

13. Langevin papers, LB 4, Langevin to Bégin, July 25, 1902.

14. Ibid., LB 5, Langevin to Roblin, September 9, 1902.

15. Ibid., LB 5, Langevin to Campbell, December 4, 1902.

16. Ibid., MCE, Baderski to Langevin, August 14, 1903.

17. Ibid., MCPM, Roblin to Langevin, April 21, 1907, and QS, 1906-7, W.H. Hastings to Langevin, April 29, 1907.

18. Ibid., MCPM, Langevin to Roblin, April 30, 1907.

19. Ibid., LB 10, Langevin to Roblin, August 17, 1907.

20. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education, 206.

21. Archives Deschâtelets, Carrière file, May 28, 1909. In 1911, Manitoba had a total population of 455,614, comprised of 73,944 Catholics of which 30,944 were Canadien. D. de Saint Denis, L'Eglise Catholique au Canada (Montréal: Les Editions Thau, 1956), 194.

22. Langevin papers, LB 12, Langevin to Lavergne, December 22, 1908.

23. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Rogers, December 24, 1908.

24. *Ibid.*, QS, Langevin to Roblin, "Mémoire," February (?), 1909.

25. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Rogers, February 6, 1909.

26. *Ibid.*, QS, 1909, Poitras to Bliss, March 3, 1909.

27. *Ibid.*, MCPM, Langevin to Roblin, April 24, 1909.

28. *Ibid.*, MCPM, Roblin to Langevin, December 15, 1909.

29. *Ibid.*, QS 1909, "Questions à traiter avec M. Coldwell," (n.d.).

30. *Ibid.*, MCE, Baderski to Poitras, June 10, 1909.

31. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Roblin, June 5, 1909.

32. *Ibid.*, LB 14, Langevin to Rogers, October 12, 1910.

33. "Lettre pastorale Des Archévêques Et Evêques Du Canada Assemblés Dans Le Premier Concile Plenier Du Canada, Septembre, 1909."

34. Joseph Jean, "S.E. Mgr. Adélard Langevin, Archevêque de St. Boniface et les Ukrainiens," *La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique, Rapport 1944-45*, 108.

35. Langevin papers, LB 13, Langevin to Rogers, March 9, 1910. Baderski had been forced to resign and Langevin wanted a position for him within the department of education. *Ibid.*, QS, Langevin to Coldwell, September 23, 1910.

36. *Ibid.*, DA, Stagni to Langevin, September 11, 1912.

37. *Ibid.*, QS 1905, Barrett to Langevin, January 23, 1905.

38. *Ibid.*, LB 7, Langevin to Sbaretti, February, 1905.

39. *Ibid.*, LB 7, Langevin to Barett, February 18, 1905.

40. See above, Chapter IV, Footnote 178.

41. Langevin Papers, MCPM, Langevin To Roblin, August 6, 1906.

42. Morice, *Vie de Mgr. Langevin*, 230.

43. *Ibid.*, 234. There were about 14,000 Catholics in Winnipeg of which 4,000 were English-speaking. Savaète, *Mgr. Adélard Langevin*, 313.

44. Langevin papers, LB 9, Langevin to Cherrier, December 3, 1906.

45. *Ibid.*, LB 9, Langevin to Duhamel, January 28, 1907.

46. *Ibid.*, LB 11, Langevin to Sbaretti, January 17, 1908.

47. *Ibid.*, LB 11, Langevin to Gotti, February 16, 1908.

48. *Ibid.*, LB 11, Langevin to Duhamel, February 16, 1908.

49. *Ibid.*, LB 11, Langevin to Sbaretti, March 29, 1908.

50. *Ibid.*, LB 11, Langevin to Cherrier, April 23, 1908.

51. *Ibid.*, LB 11, Langevin to Sbaretti, May 17, 1908. The information transmitted to Mgr. Sbaretti was indefinite: Langevin estimated a total population of 14,000 inhabitants in the vicariate; 3,000 Protestant Indians, 2,500 Catholic Indians, and the rest classed as "pagans." There were 15 Oblates and 4 lay brothers working among the Indian population staffing one boarding school and 2 day schools (*ibid.*). In 1911 the federal government estimated there were 3,731 inhabitants in the Keewatin District to be annexed to Manitoba. *Canadian Annual Review*, 1911, 551.

52. Langevin papers, LB 11, Langevin to Gotti, July 20, 1908.

53. Morton, *op. cit.*, 296, and Langevin papers, LB 11, Dugas to David, June 2, 1908.

54. Langevin papers, LB 11, Langevin to Roblin, September 8, 1908 and *ibid.*, Langevin to Cherrier, September 9, 1908.

55. *Ibid.*, LB 11, Langevin to O'Donnell, October 13, 1908.

56. *Ibid.*, MCPM, Langevin to Roblin, October 10, 1908. There were thirty members in this society comprising seven nationalities (*ibid.*).

57. *Ibid.*, DA, Lettre de Mgr. Sbaretti to Lord Grey, January 25, 1908.

58. Quoted in Cook, *op. cit.*, 35, Laurier papers, Barrett to Sbaretti, February 28, 1909.

59. Langevin papers, LB 12, Langevin to Rampolla, December 24, 1908.

60. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Steadman, December 26, 1908. Langevin's underlining.

61. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Pope Pius X, January 31, 1909.

62. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Bégin, March 2, 1909.

63. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Pope Pius X, March 29, 1909 and *Ibid*, Langevin to Begin, May 19, 1909.

64. "Letter Pastorale Des Archevêques Et Evêques Du Canada Assemblés Dans Le Premier Concile Plenier Du Canada, Septembre, 1909."

65. Langevin papers, LB 13, Langevin to Bégin, January 21, 1910 and *ibid.*, Langevin to Rampolla, January 22, 1910.

66. *Ibid.*, LB 13, Langevin to Bruchési, April 11, 1910.

67. *Ibid.*, LB 13, Langevin to Gotti, April 12, 1910.

68. *Ibid.*, DH, "Traduction fidèle du discours prononcé à la retraite ecclésiastique, le 14 juillet 1910, à Sandwich, comté d'Essex."

69. Quoted in Morice, *Vie de Mgr. Langevin*, 265.

70. Henri Bourassa, "Religion, Langue, Nationalité: Discours Prononcé à la séance de cloture de XXIa Congrès Eucharistique, à Montréal, le 10 septembre 1910" (Montréal: Imprimerie du "Devoir", 1910).

71. *Le Devoir*, September 14, 1910.

72. *Manitoba Free Press*, September 23, 1910.

73. Langevin papers, LB 14, Langevin to Bruchési, September 30, 1910. Mgr. Duhamel died in 1909 and the see was vacant for a year.

74. *Ibid.*, LB 14, Langevin to Bruchési, September 30, 1910 and *ibid.*, QS, Taschereau to Langevin, October 10, 1910.

75. Carrière file,"L'Association D'Education Parle", extrait de "L'Action Catholique" Quebec, October 1910 and *Ibid.*, "La Dénégation de Mgr. Fallon" in "Le Patriote de l'Ouest," October 19, 1910.

76. *Manitoba Free Press*, October 6, 1910 (copy).

77. *Ibid.*, October 10, 1910.

78. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1910.

79. *Ibid.*, November 24, 1910.

80. *Ibid.*, October (?), 1910.

81. *Ibid.*, November 24, 1910.

82. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1910.

83. *Ibid.*, February 10, 1911.

84. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1910.

85. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1911.

86. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1911; February 14, 1911; February 17, 1911; and February 22, 1911. Roger Goulet was president of the Union Metisse and Judge Prud'homme was a vice-president of the Alliance National.

87. Quoted in Cook, *op. cit.*, 36, Laurier papers, Barrett to Falconio, March 1, 1911.

88. The new apostolic delegate, Mgr. Pelegrino Stagni was appointed in October 1910.

CHAPTER VI

CHURCH-STATE CONFLICT TO 1911

Compulsory Education

Compulsory education in Manitoba became a major school issue in 1906. The Brandon Times revealed that the provincial government had framed an amendment to the school law conforming to a recent regulation of the Winnipeg public school board that required all children between seven and fourteen years of age to attend school. The editor commented bluntly that the children would not be allowed to attend a separate or private school. Langevin received Roblin's denial of any such amendment but remained apprehensive nonetheless.[1] He directed Cherrier to see Laurier and Fitzpatrick in Ottawa on behalf of the Winnipeg Catholic School Committee to get a legal interpretation on the status of a Catholic teacher in a city school containing forty or more Catholic students.[2] The committee was in the process of reacting to the proposal for compulsory education and the archbishop saw in it the possibility of reopening the entire school question.[3] Langevin recalled with some relish how Roblin had handled a deputation of Winnipeg's citizens demanding compulsory education in 1902: "Je [Roblin] ne forcerai pas les Catholiques à recevoir des inspecteurs du Gouvernement si leurs écoles ne sont pas reconnues par nous-allez trouver le bureau des écoles publiques de Winnipeg et faites un arrangement avec les Catholiques."[4]

The Winnipeg public school board made a formal request to J. Gordon, M.L.A. for South Winnipeg, to draw up an amendment providing for compulsory attendance. Roblin alerted Langevin and promised not to act until he received a reply.[5] The archbishop acknowledged that three-quarters of the Catholics, both English - and French-speaking, approved of legislation for compulsory attendance, but reminded the premier of his 1902 promise not to force inspection on Winnipeg's private schools and felt it would be difficult to have compulsory attendance work "unless our free schools are accepted."[6] He continued:

> But, it would be yet better to ask the Local Legislature of Manitoba in order to have the "School Law" amended or interpreted in such a way that our free national schools, doing the same work as the schools called Public, would receive the benefit of Municipal and Government grants, though our children remain in separate buildings already built at great cost, and under our religious teachers.[7]

With the letter he included a memo containing the clauses drafted by Sbaretti and sent to Laurier in December 1903. Gordon replied to the Winnipeg public board that he would indeed sponsor a compulsory education bill and he believed it would get the unanimous support of the legislature provided the board and the Catholic committee settled the entire school question "once and for all."[8] When Sbaretti inquired into the proposed negotiations, he found that the public school trustees had refused flatly to re-open talks with the Catholic committee.[9] With this avenue closed, Langevin proposed a petition to the provincial cabinet and the lieutenant-governor along with an amendment in the House submitted by a Conservative member.[10]

Comments by the Northwest Review fueled the fires of religious antagonism at the end of February, and earned it and the archbishop a reprimand from the apostolic delegate. The Review commented:

> The Winnipeg Public School Board is clamoring for compulsory education on the ostensible plea that it will save the children of the shiftless poor from the disastrous effects of lazy and

> ignorant childhood, spent amid the debasing influences of the street. Taught by long experience in other countries, similar protestations of pure motives, followed as soon as the compulsory clauses become law by astute measures tending to force Catholic children into godless schools, we have no great faith in the much-lauded benefit of compulsory education.
>
> At its best, even in a Catholic country, compulsory education would be an invasion of parental rights. But compulsory education in this Protestant province, suggested and inspired, as it undoubtedly is, by Masonic and Orange lodges, would be a direct menace to Catholic schools. Its ultimate purpose, however skilfully disguised, is to deCatholicize all our children.[11]

Laurier despatched a representative to Winnipeg to monitor developments and cautioned Sbaretti not to inject any other question into the Manitoba cauldron: "the immediate question to solve now is the difficulty in Winnipeg in having the Catholic schools taken over by the Public Board."[12] The apostolic delegate concurred, but once the agreement was reached he would "make efforts at the opportune time to obtain legislative sanction for ameliorations in the actual situation."[13] All manoeuvring ceased when it became evident that Roblin would not have an amendment on compulsory attendance in the legislature that session.[14]

On January 4, 1907, the premier announced that the question would be submitted to an eminent counsel whose report would be tabled in the legislature after the forthcoming provincial elections.[15] The counsel chosen was Donald Macmaster of London, England, who was a member of the Canadian bar. In his report Macmaster conceded the right of the legislature to deal with the question of inspection of denominational schools, but

> if the Legislature should make attendance compulsory and provide for inspection of the denominational schools, there arises the question whether this does not constitute such a statutory recognition of denominational schools under State control, or

> at least supervision, in so far as efficiency in secular education is concerned, as to entitle supporters of the latter to relief from paying the rates for the upkeep of the public schools? I do not think that it can be doubted that in such circumstances the minority (as provided in sub-section 2) would have a reasonable claim to appeal to the Governor-General in Council, on the broad grounds that their rights and privileges, as subjects of the King, were "affected" (Not necessarily prejudicially affected), and that they were fairly entitled to be exempted from contributing any longer to the support of the public schools. On such appeal they would be entitled to the decision of the Governor-General in Council, and if that decision should be in their favour it would be necessary, in the first instance, for the Legislature of Manitoba to give effect to it by legislation, and, failing action by the Legislature, the Parliament of Canada would have power to pass supplemental remedial legislation removing the grievance.[16]

The opinion must have delighted Roblin since it placed the onus on the federal government to hear an appeal of the Catholic minority if his provincial government enacted a compulsory attendance law - a law that Archbishop Langevin had vigorously opposed from the beginning.

The Manitoba Election, 1907

By 1907 Manitoba was a prosperous province. Roblin had settled the provincial debt and wiped out the deficits; the province's finances were sound.[17] Immigrants had increased the population by almost 100,000 during the previous five years and it now stood at approximately 365,000.[18] It was a predominantly British-Canadian province and the premier endeavoured to spread pro-British sentiment throughout. The Conservative election manifesto called for the flying of a British flag at every Manitoba public school during school hours.[19] Langevin reacted by ordering Inspector Goulet to have the children sing "The Maple Leaf" in English and "Chantons le Peuple Canadien" in French; he also recommended "O Canada, terre de nos aïeux."[20] Despite the differences between premier and archbishop, Langevin declared openly for Roblin. A string of letters to his priests advised them to vote for the premier.[21] An Irish Catholic faction, however, favoured the Liberals and Langevin tried to win them over to the Conservative camp by declaring that a vote against Roblin was a vote against Catholic schools.[22] The Liberal leader, Edward Brown, campaigned on the promise that, if elected, he would apply the school law in all its rigour. Versed by this time in the philosophy of "realpolitik," Langevin commented: "croire que le Gouvernement Roblin agit que par principe, on s'y attendre, serait une naiveté; mais nous bénéficions de ses dispositions favourables, et c'est tout ce que nous pouvons espérer pour le moment."[23]

One incident prior to the election demonstrated unmistakably to the archbishop that Roblin's government was grateful for past services; two crucifixes had been presented privately to one of Langevin's priests and Langevin placed them in the classrooms of the public school at Notre Dame de Lourdes: the donor was Robert Rogers.[24] There were mutterings that the government had an understanding with the Catholic church in school matters, but there was nothing substantial enough to affect the outcome.[25] On election day the Conservatives emerged with twenty-eight seats, the Liberals with thirteen. The three French Canadian ridings of Carillon, LaVerendrye, and St. Boniface had switched allegiance and voted Conservative. With the mandate of the people and the support of the Canadiens, Roblin and Langevin were riding the crest of the popular wave.[26]

The humiliating defeat of the Liberal party did not sit well with the Manitoba Free Press, which levelled a charge of interference in the political process at the archbishop after his sermon in St. Boniface cathedral on March 10. Langevin defended his sermon by stating that

> the Church . . . has the right and duty of guiding the conscience of the faithful during election time and on political matters referring to morality, as is the [liquor] license question, civil marriage, school-laws, etc., etc., as well as during any other time of the year, and on purely religious matters.[27]

To the charge that the government was allowing "special privileges" for public schools in Catholic settlements Langevin retorted:

> Catholics do not ask for privileges ... but they ask that the Constitution of Canada contained in the "British North America Act" (1867), and in the "Manitoba Act" (1870), which was in truth a "parliamentary compact" according to the very words of the judgement of the Honourable Lords of the judicial committee of the Privy Council of the Empire (1895), be respected and kept faithfully in school matters as well as in any other matter.[28]

The Tribune headlined Langevin's sermon as "Another Church Victory" and remarked at the irony of the campaign: "It was a beautiful - though not an uncommon-spectacle to see the Archbishop of St. Boniface and an Orange Grand Master standing shoulder to shoulder, heroically fighting the foe - National Schools!"[29] Roblin became uneasy about the post-electoral comment in the newspapers that he was doing too much for the Catholic church and advised Langevin that it would be unwise for the government to do anything at that moment that might cause further strife. The "Grit party" was arousing public sentiment "to prevent the Roman Catholics getting even the small measure of fair play provided under the settlement of 1897."[30] The Free Press would not let matters rest: it attacked "ecclesiastical tyranny" in Manitoba and called on Liberal Catholics to resist it. It proclaimed that the "absolute supremacy of the State in all things other than spiritual is the fundamental principle of Liberalism."[31] Roblin and Langevin met on March 12 and discussed the possibility of a French-Canadian cabinet minister but the political climate in Manitoba precluded any early decision since all government measures would be under close scrutiny for some time.[32]

Two other incidents may have lead Langevin to believe that another "persecution" was beginning. Robert Fletcher, chief clerk of the Department of Education, warned Langevin that the crucifixes in public schools would have to be removed; trustees would be fined if they were allowed to remain.[33] Langevin appealed to the premier, demanding the same rights for "bi-lingual" schools in Manitoba as Protestants had in Quebec. Was there any specific prohibition of the crucifix, Langevin asked? The whole edifice of Catholic education in the province was threatened; "What We Have We Hold," the archbishop concluded defiantly.[34] This particular issue was not pursued further, but inspector Goulet saw trouble ahead in the formation of union (centralized) school districts. Perhaps Langevin realized that this formation was the most serious threat to the concessions gained so far by Catholic public schools. Protestant immigration into an already established Catholic community would create a religiously heterogeneous population that would spell doom for the Catholic School. A concommitant threat - the mixing of children of several communities in a centralized school - would have precisely the same effect.[35] Three months later the Department of Education restricted inspector Goulet to his inspector's role and forbade him to organize schools outside his district.

Langevin wanted full information from Goulet before he saw Roblin about these disquieting developments.[36] He may also have been surprised to hear of the appointment of Dr. McGinnis as the new provincial Minister of Education in September 1907.[37]

The Manitoba Boundaries Controversy

Laurier had called a conference in Ottawa early in November 1906 to which he invited the governments whose interests were closely tied to the Keewatin territory. Sbaretti wrote Laurier from Rome that the Vatican was very interested in the proceedings and suggested it was good opportunity to re-open the Manitoba school question.[38] However, no agreement was reached among the participants at the conference and Laurier informed Sbaretti that the school question took second place to the more pressing question of boundary extension. In the prime minister's mind, the two questions of schools and boundaries were not related.[39] Sbaretti countered by asserting that by annexing Keewatin to the Northwest Territories, separate schools in fact became part of the Keewatin district.[40] Laurier was piqued by this argument and replied that he could now be charged with allegations that he withheld the extension of Manitoba's boundaries in 1905 until separate schools were legally a part of Keewatin.[41] In Manitoba, the overwhelming sentiment was for extension of boundaries and even the provincial Liberals felt that the boundaries should be enlarged simply to reduce the amount of controversy generated. Laurier, however, did not seem to be in any particular hurry to grant extension; the signs were not propitious.[42] Another Manitoba election was pending in 1907 and the provincial Liberal party seemed weaker than ever.

Communications with Rome were quite unsatisfactory, Langevin thought, and there was nothing much he could do to change the situation. One defect in not being heard viva voce was that the bishops of Canada were not receiving a fair hearing or having their proper effect at the Vatican.[43] He noted sarcastically that Ottawa sent a steady stream of news and "personages" to Rome "pour informer" Merry del Val and the pope.[44] When he learned that Laurier was again off to Europe, Langevin wrote Pius X a history of the Manitoba school question and ended with the usual refrain that it was not settled.[45] Sbaretti was also in Rome and was reported to have the "full confidence of the Holy See"; the pope was taking a personal interest in all aspects of school affairs in Canada.[46] The archbishop concluded that "le voyage du G.D. Manitou [Laurier] à Rome prépare bien les élections," and quipped: "On a reproché des Conservateurs de se cacher durant 40 ans derrière la soutane du prêtre: depuis 1894 les Liberaux font mieux, ils s'abutent derrière la soutane rouge d'un Cardinal ou même la soutane blanche du Pape !"[47] Langevin took strong exception to a newspaper report that claimed that Cardinal Vanutelli had complimented Laurier at a banquet at the Canadian college in Rome for not sacrificing his Catholic principles. The cardinal's statement was untrue, Langevin objected, and it was particularly inappropriate to make such a statement at the college. The timing, moreover, was good for the Liberals and prepared the way for "le triomphe de M. Laurier aux prochaines élections."[48]

On March 19, Rev. Alfred Sinnot, the delegate's secretary in Canada, transmitted a letter to the prime minister from Sbaretti. In it, the delegate took up the charge of "duplicity" that the prime minister said could be levelled at him, stating that the proclamation of 1905 granting separate schools to Keewatin six months before it was annexed to the new provinces was not the only argument that was applicable. The moral question was superior to the technically legal one:

> If there is not a separate school system in Manitoba today, it is because the will of the Canadian Parliament, through a defect in drafting the Constitutional Act, failed of fulfilment.... Certainly the proclamation of 1905 strengthens our position.... The charge of duplicity perhaps could be made against you by your political enemies, but it would be altogether hopeless and unreasonable. The proclamation of August 1905 is not an arbitrary act. The government acted legitimately in virtue of a special power conferred to it by the Canadian Parliament.[49]

Nevertheless,

> There is a portion of the Old District of Saskatchewan to the immediate north of Manitoba, and not included in the new provinces. In this district ... Sect. 14 applies not in virtue of the proclamation of August 1905, but in virtue of the N.W. Territory Act of 1875. This is another very strong argument of our demand for the protection of the minorities [sic] school rights in the territory to be united to Manitoba.[50]

Laurier's terse reply was that "an attempt to force upon the territory to be added to Manitoba a school system against the will of the provincial legislature would create an element of discord and danger, for which he [Laurier] would not be responsible."[51] In May, Sinnot wrote directly to Langevin's suffragan, Bishop Pascal of Prince Albert, to gather further information on Keewatin, prompting the archbishop to remark, "non sum persona grata" in the discussions.[52] Langevin's sense of isolation increased when he noticed that he had received no mail from the Vatican in the last six months.[53]

Resuming the written debate in August, Sbaretti could not agree that Manitoba would erupt if the school question were re-opened; he was more understanding of Laurier's argument that his government was incapable of forcing the Manitoba government to act. "Another way out of the difficulty," he suggested, would be "the division of the territory between Saskatchewan and Ontario."[54] Laurier countered by rejecting the division of Keewatin as a solution; the people of Manitoba would then have a legitimate grievance. The constitutional objection to the delegate's proposal was that "the parliament in extending, or in any way altering the boundaries of a province, cannot impose any convictions except such as are accepted by the legislature of the province." As for the political situation in Manitoba, Laurier observed, even though the Liberal opposition was very weak, Roblin would not grant the desired concessions "because opposition from within his party would crush him."[55] Sbaretti replied that since the petition of the Manitoba government to boundary extension made no reference to separate schools, it was the federal government's duty to propose this condition, and, if rejected by Manitoba, the annexation of new territory to that province would not take place. He then reminded Laurier of the "pledge which you made to the Holy See."[56] Laurier found the idea of the federal government imposing a condition on Manitoba repugnant, an act of "flagrant injustice"; the resentment of people towards separate schools "would soon take the shape of a most dangerous agitation not only in Manitoba, but in many other provinces." The only grounds for negotiation between Manitoba and Ottawa would be the proclamation of 1905, which was admittedly contentious. But what perhaps concerned Laurier above all was that "any attempt to force the legislature of Manitoba to grant to the minority more rights than they have by existing legislation would certainly imperil existing rights and privileges of the minority in other parts of the Dominion."[57]

The federal Speech from the Throne in December 1907 proposed the extension of Manitoba's boundaries but failed to mention separate schools.[58] Sbaretti expressed his "extreme displeasure" and hoped that "such an unjust and deplorable decision would not be carried into effect."[59] If Catholics opposed this measure, Laurier warned the delegate, "they will lose far more than what is now in issue," and added with finality, "the man is not living who can settle that question on any other lines than those which I have laid down."[60] Sir Richard Scott, Liberal leader in the Senate, also recounted for the delegate the history of school disputes with which he had been associated in his long political career: he had introduced the 1861 separate school bill in the united parliament of Canada; voted for the Northwest Territories Act of 1875 which established separate schools therein; arranged the Laurier-Greenway compromise for Manitoba in 1896; and helped to assure Catholic education in the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. He reminded the delegate that Canada was a Protestant country in which Catholics enjoyed extensive privileges "larger ... than in any other Protestant country." The Catholics in the district of Keewatin would have the same benefits enjoyed by Catholics in rural Manitoba; the Manitoba government could not be compelled to extend its grant structure to encompass the Catholic schools in urban areas; and negotiations for modification of the school law at present were useless. As with Greenway, so with Roblin, "The popular prejudice against separate schools was so strong that it was not in their power to make ... concessions...." If the cry for separate schools were raised in Manitoba, it would soon transfer to Ontario and the two would make common cause against Ottawa.[61]

For these reasons, Scott defended Laurier for not mentioning separate schools when the boundaries of Manitoba were extended.

In May 1908, another round of negotiations between Ottawa and Manitoba failed to produce a solution to the impasse between the two governments on the financial aspects of the boundary extension issue.[62] Perhaps because he was contemplating action on the boundaries without the support of the delegate and the provincial government, Laurier sought to explain his position to the Vatican Secretary of State. It may have been a moment of weakness but he conceded that separate schools had been legitimately established in the Keewatin district:

> Of this territory a small portion, which was part of the North West Territories, had, under section 14 of an Act of the Canadian Parliament, passed in the year 1875, became entitled to the benefit of separate schools. This privilege did not apply to the District of Keewatin, but in the month of August, 1905, we issued a Proclamation attaching Keewatin to the North West Territories for administrative purposes, and as a consequence, that district also became entitled to separate schools. As a matter of fact, no schools of any kind have ever been organized in that territory, and none are in existence.[63]

Laurier further observed that although the simplest solution would be to create a wholly new province in that area, the nature of the northern regions precluded the possibility. The Protestant majority in Canada would give voluntary concessions, he advised, but not legislation for Catholic schools.[64] Rome, however, did not learn of the prime minister's concession as the letter was not sent.

In July the House of Commons passed a resolution offering terms of boundary extension to Manitoba without mentioning separate schools and left the financial terms unspecified. The Roblin government rejected the terms because they did not assure Manitoba financial "equality" with the other western provinces.[65]

Laurier's Initiative After the 1908 Federal Election

The archbishop did not become involved in the federal election held on October 26, 1908. His opinions were quite likely akin to those of Judge Prud'homme, a close associate, who in characterizing the Manitoba school situation as "pénible" advised his colleagues of the "Action Sociale" in Quebec that "Laurier n'a absolument Rien [sic] fait pour nous."[66] Liberal strategy during this campaign was to raise the cry of "let us finish the job" and rely on the magnetic personality of the prime minister to attract votes. The Conservatives indulged in some muck-raking but could not promote a substantive issue. The sole educational issue was raised by the Orange Sentinel advising voters to oppose Laurier to prevent further damage to the public school system. The Conservative leader, Robert Borden, considered this particular foray very damaging for his party. In Quebec the only potential candidate who could harm the Liberals was Henri Bourassa, but he chose to remain neutral. The polls indicated that the country was largely satisfied with its government, which won 135 seats to the Conservatives' 85. The about-face in Manitoba, however, was dramatic: 8 Conservatives were elected to 2 Liberals. While the boundary question was certainly a factor a very weak Liberal party organization in Manitoba was probably the single most important reason for the strong Conservative showing. Roblin had campaigned with Borden, and the administrative skills of Robert Rogers were also given large credit for the political upset.[67] Langevin was not surprised: "Le résultat des élections prouve qu'il y a travail à faire au Canada; mais il faudrait commencer par Rome."[68]

Prime Minister Laurier again took the initiative early in 1909 by contacting Premier Roblin and inviting him to another discussion on the Manitoba school question. The prime minister sought to ameliorate the circumstances of the Catholic minority by negotiating on the basis of the two amendments proposed by the apostolic delegate in December 1903 and brought forward by Robert Rogers as the "Sbaretti Memorandum" of 1905. Roblin met Langevin on February 20, 1909 and, surprised to learn that the archbishop had heard nothing from Ottawa, proceeded to bring him up to date. The amendments would allow Catholics to have their own schools with Catholic teachers but they would be under the control of the public board of trustees. When Langevin asked about the source of the "proposition," Roblin replied, "je crois que c'est l'Honorable Juge Fitzpatrick" and added "M. Barker m'a dit: 'The Church will accept this'." When the premier wondered aloud why the delegate had not informed the archbishop, Langevin replied: "pour être franc avec vous ... je pense qu'il craint peut-être que je n'accepte pas le peu qu'il demande!" Then, in a display of solidarity, Roblin expressed trust in Langevin by refusing to negotiate further with Ottawa until the archbishop had been fully informed.[69]

What Langevin was prepared to accept was the complete restoration of the separate school system and he promptly had a draft of the amendments drawn up.[70] Sbaretti ordered the archbishop to refrain from publishing anything on boundary extension in Les Cloches and to suspend all discussion forthwith since the delegate was handling the negotiations personally.[71] At the same time Laurier sent Roblin a draft of another bill to extend Manitoba's boundaries but with no financial settlement included.[72] Langevin, as frustrated as ever, agreed to remain silent: "je ne puis me désintéresser de ce qui me regarde, et je suis bien certain que l'Honorable Roblin ne fera rien sans moi."[73] An unexpected element was introduced to complicate matters still further - Roblin was obliged to ask for a one-year extension on payment of principal for land purchased from St. Boniface College, and the archbishop gave his immediate approval to the extension.[74] Both Roblin and Rogers came to see Langevin on March 2 after they had received an invitation from Laurier to come to Ottawa to discuss extension of Manitoba into Keewatin. Roblin had expressed his disappointment to Ottawa that no other question besides money would be discussed, thus precluding the possibility of opening the school question. They were determined to receive as much money as had Alberta and Saskatchewan, and if this was refused they would return to Manitoba immediately. To this Langevin declared:

> Si l'on vous met le Manitoba sur le même pied pour les finances que les provinces de Saskatchewan et d'Alberta, ne trouvez-vous pas qu'il faudra accorder plus que la proposition Barker, c'est à dire, qu'il faudra nous accorder, au moins, autant que ce qui a été accordé à ces deux provinces en 1905, c'est a dire le principe des écoles séparées bien qu'on y ait apporté des restrictions que je n'ai pas aprouvées.[75]

In effect, Langevin was ready to accept the Alberta-Saskatchewan model for separate schools while negotiations for a complete restoration of a denominational school system were under way. According to him both men agreed to his request, adding: "usez de votre influence pour amener Laurier à accorder à nos demandes et nous ferons ce que vous demandez pour vos écoles." Although Langevin did not accept this last affirmation at face value he nevertheless agreed on Rogers' advice to go to Montreal, to be readily available to discuss school affairs. Roblin himself did not intend to go to Ottawa; Rogers and Campbell would negotiate with Laurier.[76]

On March 5, Sbaretti sent Langevin two amendments to section 218 of the Manitoba School Act. The archbishop did not receive them because he had departed that same day for Ottawa. Of the two amendments Sbaretti was inclined towards "Alternative B," which read:

> Public School Act, Manitoba, Chapter 143, Revised Statutes,
>
> Amend the above act by striking out section 218, and substitute the following as section 218.
>
> 218. In towns and cities where there are forty or upwards of Roman Catholic children between the ages of six and sixteen years, and in villages and rural districts where there are twenty-five or upwards of such children between the ages of five and sixteen years, the trustees shall, if required by a petition of parents or guardians of such number of such Roman Catholic children, respectively, provide proper and suitable school house accomodation [sic] for such children and employ for them duly certificated Roman Catholic teachers in such schools.
>
> In towns and cities where there are forty or upwards of non-Roman Catholic children between the ages of six and sixteen years, and in villages and rural districts where there are twenty-five or upwards of such children between the ages of five and sixteen years, the trustees shall, if required by a petition of parents or guardians of such number of such non-Roman Catholic children, respectively, provide proper and suitable school house accomodation [sic] for such children and employ for them duly certificated non-Roman Catholic teachers in such schools.[77]

Sbaretti was confirmed in his judgement by John S. Ewart, who wrote: "Remembering the difficulties of obtaining any modification of the 'school law' I cannot but consider the proposed amendment as very satisfactory ... I shall be much pleased if the amendment be adopted." In his discussions in Ottawa, Sbaretti would refer to this draft as the "Barker proposition."[78]

Sbaretti's latest amendment was very similar to the draft he had sent Laurier in 1903. It differed from the latter by increasing the number of school children in all school districts by ten before the section could be implemented. Both drafts provided for a "school house(s)" with Catholic teachers under public school trustees, conditions which were identical to the solution put forward by the "Dominion Commissioners" to the Manitoba government in 1896, and subsequently rejected. The "Sbaretti memorandum" of 1905 proposed public school "classes" of Catholic children under their own teachers yet this too failed to get the necessary approval from the Manitobans. The future (1912) Coldwell amendments would define a school to include both a school house and a school room, and extend the meaning to encompass a department within a school building. During negotiations among Laurier, Roblin and Langevin in 1901 the archbishop agreed to have Winnipeg's Catholic schools under the public school board, provided Catholic teachers would be hired to instruct the children. He would approve Sbaretti's latest initiative but considered the Alberta-Saskatchewan model more suitable for Manitoba.

Langevin arrived in Ottawa on March 6 and went directly to the delegate's residence where he related the entire interview he had had with the two provincial cabinet ministers. Sbaretti did not reprove Langevin but became immediately suspicious of the Manitobans: Roblin intended to prorogue the legislature instead of adjourning it. He had also sent Rogers and Campbell to Ottawa, probably realizing that Laurier would not negotiate with them. The delegate explained that Laurier would write a letter to Roblin on the school question rather than raise it in the Commons; Langevin replied that Roblin would appreciate dealing openly on this issue. A coded telegram from Borden to Roblin would also be useful, the delegate thought. When Langevin saw the delegate next day, he proposed that, since Manitoba would be placed on an equal footing with Alberta and Saskatchewan, it would be appropriate to ask for the same school rights for Catholics in Manitoba as existed in the other two provinces. The delegate, however, considered the Barker proposition sufficient for the moment, and Langevin did not argue the point. In the afternoon, the delegate had Langevin draw up the telegram that Borden and Laurier would send in code. Langevin objected to any reference to the Barker proposition in the telegram, although the delegate insisted that it satisfied Ewart himself. In the end Langevin had his way and wrote: "I beg of you to adjourn the House and to come at once to settle things the best way you can." The delegate then confided that Laurier would not consent to boundary extension for Manitoba unless the school question was settled, a position that amazed Langevin who knew that to Laurier other considerations were as important as the schools. The archbishop recalled that he had seen negotiations fall apart in the past but there seemed to be more hope for the present round since Borden and Laurier were in accord.[79]

In March 1909, Joseph Martin was being feted to a banquet in Vancouver, in recognition for his services to the Liberal party and to British Columbia. The Montreal Gazette reported excerpts from the after-dinner speech in which he recounted his reminiscences of what had actually transpired within the Liberal camp during the 1896 Manitoba crisis. During the debates on the remedial bill, Laurier was about to introduce a resolution on separate schools that would have lost the support of all the enemies of separate schools, Martin said, and it was Israel Tarte who convinced the prime minister that his resolution was worthless and would cost them the election. Tarte advised Laurier: "montrez-vous ferme et clair au sujet des droits provinciaux et vous n'aurez rien a craindre de la Province de Quebec." Martin believed that, although the prime minister had acted against his personal convictions, he had thus won the election. As for Martin, "Il n'a jamais reçu ni remerciements ni récompense pour son travail. Sifton reçut le portefeuille auqu'il s'attendait, et que ... lui avait promis."[80] What the enigmatic Laurier would do now was much on Langevin's mind.

Eastern newspapers began to speculate on Langevin's presence in Montreal and the archbishop noted that preparations for the forthcoming plenary council were a good cover-up for his trip east. The delegate requested Langevin to see Rogers in Toronto but he refused since Ottawa had apparently refused to negotiate with Rogers.[81] On March 12, Colin Campbell came to Montreal and reported to Langevin on the interview he and Rogers had had with Laurier and Fielding. He expressed his surprise that Laurier had said nothing about separate schools and was disposed to give Manitoba less money than had been granted to Alberta and Saskatchewan. More money was necessary, Campbell assured Langevin, because otherwise the Manitoba Conservatives might have a difficult time being re-elected. Roblin could not come, he continued, because he was ill with appendicitis and Campbell requested the archbishop to use his good offices with the delegate to get Laurier to negotiate with him. Langevin then asked if Campbell was willing to promise the same school concessions that Rogers and Roblin had agreed to on March 2. Campbell agreed to sign a written "convention" to that effect, which would be placed in the hands of a trustworthy person. Furthermore,

> nous convoquerons, s'il le faut, une session extraordinaire, et nous en appelerons au peuple. Si nous revenons au pouvoir, nous amenderons la loi scolaire et durant cinq ans nous réussirons à faire taire le fanatisme et à faire sortir cette question de l'arène politique. Nous seuls pouvons régler cette

> question et nous le ferons volontiers. Vous avez été modéré, vous ne vous avez pas trop pressés de façon à ne pas nous embarrasser et nous apprécions cette conduite, de sorte que nous voulons vous satisfaire.[82]

Langevin reported the conversation in detail to Sbaretti, pointing out that the money question was crucial; it had to be ironed out before Roblin would consent to act. Acknowledging that the delegate and the prime minister were reluctant to negotiate with Rogers and Campbell, he warned that this occasion might be the last to rectify Catholic grievances. Since Campbell thought it best for Langevin to return to Winnipeg, the archbishop decided to leave Montreal on the fifteenth; Rogers and Campbell would try to see Laurier again.[83]

Roblin met with Langevin on April 1, in St. Boniface, and recounted how he had travelled to Toronto and from there directed negotiations with his two principals in Ottawa by telephone. Rogers and Campbell had further discussions with Fitzpatrick, Barker, and Rev. Father Burke of the Catholic Church Extension Society. No grants had been made and two ministers, Fielding and Fisher, seemed strongly opposed to a more generous financial settlement. Manitoba had yielded 40,000 acres of land in Keewatin to Ontario to ensure peace and as a sign of good faith, but was adamant on the terms of the financial settlement. Then the following exchange took place between Langevin and Roblin:

> "Mais, vous n'avez pas rencontre Laurier", lui dis-je? [Langevin]
>
> "Non, mais j'attendais qu'il consentit à ce que nous demandions. Alors je serais allé le recontrer pour signer un convention reglant la question."
>
> "Je lui dis alors: M. Roblin, qu'étiez-vous prêt et qu'êtes-vous prêt encore à accorder pour les écoles si on vous met sur le même pied que la Saskatchewan et l'Alberta?"

> "Nous sommes prêtes, dit-il, à accorder aux catholiques la même situation que dans la Saskatchewan et l'Alberta ou même que dans Ontario ou Québec. Cela nous est égal! It is immaterial to us."
>
> Tout ému, je lui repondis: "Mais pourquoi Laurier n'a-t-il rien dit des écoles? Pourquoi a-t-il semblé à amuser avec vos collegues comme avec des enfants avec lesquels il ne voulait rien conclure?"
>
> "Je ne sais, me repondit-il, il est vieux et il pourrait bien vouloir se retirer et laisser à un autre la tâche de régler la question. Cependant, je ne le crois pas. Je crois plutôt qu'il veut régler cette question avant de quitter le pouvoir; mais il doit avoir de l'opposition dans son cabinet et il ne veut pas se risquer sans être certain de l'appui de ses collegues qu'il veut amener à ses idées" et il ajouta: "J'ai l'espoir que nous serons rappelés à Ottawa avant longtemps et que Laurier se décidera à agir."
>
> Alors, comme j'exprimais la joie immense que me causerait le règlement de la question des écoles dans le sens qu'il avait mentionné, il me repondit: "Moi aussi, je serais heureux avant de quitter le pouvoir de régler cette question; mais nous devons obtenir de l'argent pour la Province agrandie; nous devons être tenaces comme l'Eglise de Rome qui réclame toujours jusqu-à ce qu'elle ait obtenu ce qu'elle demande."
>
> Je lui serrai la main plen d'espoir que notre question vitale serait réglée avant longtemps.[84]

Almost two weeks passed before Langevin informed Sbaretti of this interview. Laurier would have difficulty, Langevin declared, but the dreadnought decision demonstrated the prime minister's skill and power as a consummate politician.[85] On April 23, the archbishop sent a résumé of his involvement in the negotiations to Laurier, in which he pleaded that he had never been influenced by party politics or personal considerations but by Catholic principles in all his acts and expressed his confidence in the prime minister.[86] Sbaretti asked Langevin to prepare a draft of his own school amendments and send them to Roblin; the archbishop promptly forwarded the previously prepared draft of February 22 to both the premier and the delegate.[87] Langevin also sent a copy of his letter to Laurier to Merry del Val in Rome[88] Another interview ensued in June between Roblin and Langevin during which they conducted an intensive study of the proposed school amendments. During their discussions, Roblin revealed that a person had come to Winnipeg recently to ask whether the Manitoba government was willing to act alone, without the public support of the federal government. Rogers, speaking on behalf of "ses collegues," rejected this proposition. Roblin then emphasized to Langevin that without Ottawa's support the Manitoba Conservatives could be defeated, "sans aucun avantage pour les catholiques." Langevin then complained to Sbaretti that Laurier had not replied to his April 23 letter. After all was said, nothing was done; the participants in this particular episode went on to other things without resolving boundaries or schools.

In November 1909, one part of the boundary dispute between Manitoba and Ottawa was finally resolved. Because of the indeterminate nature of the negotiations the previous spring, Laurier was not aware at that time that the Manitoba representatives had given their final approval to the suggested physical boundaries until Roblin confirmed their decision in the fall. Laurier then acknowledged that this aspect was settled but refused to proceed with legislation until a financial agreement had been reached.[90] In mid-December Langevin met with Roblin to discuss educational affairs. When the discussion turned to Keewatin, Roblin argued that the federal government had full jurisdiction to deal with education in the territory.[91] Neither Roblin nor Langevin referred to the fact that the Manitoba legislature had recently enacted a statute which required that should Keewatin be joined, "such increase of territory shall not take effect until such terms and conditions have been approved by the Legislature of Manitoba."[92] Roblin defended his presence in Toronto rather than negotiating directly with Laurier in Ottawa. He did not want to be involved in any fiasco and criticized Laurier for negotiating in bad faith. Convinced once again of Roblin's sincerity, Langevin placed all the blame on Ottawa: "Le beau rôle ne me semble pas rester aux catholiques."[93] With both Bégin and Sbaretti leaving for Rome, Langevin asked Bégin to find out why he had been excluded from the previous winter's negotiations and whether Sbaretti had in fact been instructed by Merry del Val to by-pass him. In all transactions with the government, Langevin explained, he had the good of the church in mind and not his own welfare, and as an example referred to an 1897 episode with Laurier to demonstrate his point: "J'ai voulu défendre les droits de l'Eglise et j'ai refusé de l'argent ($300,000) pour ne rien sacrifier. J'ai vu clairement comment j'aurais pu m'entendre avec Laurier et Cie. si j'avais consenti à me déclarer satisfait."[94]

If his views were not being adequately heard in Rome, the archbishop was momentarily consoled by several publications that presented his side of the school question. Arthur Savaète sent two tomes from France of Voix Canadiens. It took a Frenchman, Langevin noted wryly, to write "cette bonne oeuvre si utile au Canada" on aspects of Canadian history ignored by contemporary Canadian scholars. Senator Landry sent his Les Ecoles du Nord-Ouest, wherein he argued that Manitoba had come into existence only after a pact had been signed between the Canadian government and the inhabitants of the Northwest Territories, a pact that confirmed the existence of confessional and not merely separate schools. Landry confirmed what Langevin had been saying for many years and the archbishop was pleased.[95]

However, what later became the most important development, was Henri Bourassa's venture into journalism with the founding of Le Devoir in Quebec.[96] Langevin would now get the coverage he needed to be heard more forcefully in Ottawa and Rome.

Conservative Victories: Laurier Defeated

Roblin had been in England to attend the coronation of King George V and Queen Mary and returned to campaign for the August 1 provincial election.[97] Boundaries, compulsory education, and prohibition were the issues and the premier castigated Ottawa for refusing Manitoba its long-promised and long-awaited extension.[98] The Liberal opposition under T.C. Norris could hardly disagree on boundary extension nor could the populace be aroused sufficiently on prohibition or education; in effect, the election was without a decisive issue.[99] Langevin intervened only indirectly in the election before he left for Rome. Les Cloches criticized H. Chevrier, leader of the French Liberals and candidate in Carillon, for seconding the motion for compulsory education at the Liberal convention:

> Nous regrettons surtout que cette proposition ait été favorisée et secondée par M. Horace Chevrier, qui s'est permis de parler au nom de la minorité catholique et française. Nous n'avons pas besoin d'insister longuement pour démontrer que M. Chevrier n'a pas mission de parler au nom de la minorité catholique et française et que cette minorité est opposé à l'instruction obligatoire.[100]

Roblin won another victory, gaining a solid majority of twenty-eight seats in the forty-three-seat legislature. The ridings of St. Boniface, Carillon, and Assiniboia returned French Conservatives while LaVerendrye returned W. Molloy, an Irish Catholic Liberal, in place of J.B. Lauzon.[101]

Langevin complimented Roblin on his latest success.[102]

The Free Press tried to exacerbate relations between French and English Catholics in Manitoba and Langevin was impelled to defend his actions, especially since the prime minister was coming west.[103] Laurier intended to iron out difficulties in the western farm situation and the archbishop thought to use the occasion to bring premier and prime minister face to face. He asked Dr. J. Molloy, Liberal member for the federal riding of Provencher, to arrange a meeting between Laurier and a Catholic delegation from Winnipeg to discuss Winnipeg's schools and the Keewatin territory. With Langevin at the eucharistic congress in Montreal during Laurier's visit matters were left entirely to the delegation.[104] When the parties met, the prime minister's reaction was negative; the provincial government had not indicated a willingness to co-operate and the question had become a political football.[105]

Boundary extension during the fall of 1910 was an issue in Ottawa, if not in Manitoba. The recently appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Keewatin, Mgr. Ovide Charlebois, had arrived in Ottawa a month prior to his consecration and had several meetings with Laurier on the possibility of building a separate school in Le Pas.[106] Roblin had again travelled to Ottawa to discuss the financial terms for boundary settlement and the apostolic delegate's secretary, Rev. Alfred Sinnot, reminded Laurier of the understanding he had with Sbaretti: "that advantage would be taken by you of these negotiations to demand from Mr. Roblin certain amendments to the present school legislation of Manitoba."[107] Laurier had expressly forbidden a separate school to be built in Le Pas and, after the meeting with Roblin, had Sinnot call to discuss his report to Rome on the affair.[108] Mgr. Charlebois was consecrated by Langevin on November 30 but remained in Ottawa for a short time thereafter. When Charlebois saw the prime minister for the last time about a school in Le Pas, Laurier declared that "pour accorder une telle école, il y avait certaines formalités parliamentaires à observer et que pour cela il lui fallait un peu de temps." Feeling that the door was not entirely closed, Charlebois left Ottawa for his diocese and wrote several letters to the prime minister, who replied that he was still considering it. Charlebois' last letter was in March 1911 and, since he had not received a reply, in May he brought the affair to the attention of Mgr. Stagni, the new apostolic delegate. The separate school principle had to be maintained in the Keewatin territory, he averred, and time was short. He was leaving to travel throughout his diocese and would be out of reach the entire summer.[109] He had his parishoners build an "école-chapelle" in Le Pas during his absence and the building was finished on October 22, 1911.[110] Twenty-one pupils were enrolled when the school opened in January 1912.[111]

During the November meetings between Charlebois and Laurier in 1910, the archbishop noticed the beginning of the misfortunes that would overtake the Liberals at the next federal election:

> Laurier a réçu le coup de pied dans le triomphe de jeune Gilbert à Drummond-Arthabaska; son étoile jaillit, celle de Bourassa grandit, et les Anglais commencent par croire qu'ils devaient compter avec le sentiment national des Canadien-Français pour leurs projets d'empire - 112

Laurier had campaigned personally for the Liberal candidate against a local farmer chosen by Quebec nationalists to test their mettle against the dominant Liberal party. Bourassa saw in the results the success of his policies since 1902 when he had formed the "ligue

Nationaliste" to combat what he considered to be Laurier's marked prejudice in favour of imperialist sentiment in Canada. With the establishment of Le Devoir in 1910, his voice was heard daily across Quebec and read avidly by the intelligentsia, the opinion leaders in the province. Laurier could foresee Henri Bourassa as being the most important individual he would confront in Quebec during the next federal election.[113] As the pages of Le Devoir reflected the renaissance of religious interests once again in provincial politics, the prime minister considered bringing the relatively "safe" issue of reciprocity to the fore to counter such latent religious issues as might arise before the election.

Early in February 1911, Rogers and Roblin embarked again for Ottawa to negotiate extension of Manitoba's boundaries. Although both sides had previously agreed on the physical boundaries and disagreed on the financial settlement, at this conference the Manitoba delegation added another stipulation, namely, that complete control of lands and natural resources in the territory to be added to Manitoba be transferred to the province. The demands were refused and the delegates returned to report the latest rejection to the legislature.[114] The negotiations were not a total failure since a token grant was made to the province on April 3, when the Minister of the Interior, Frank Oliver, announced that 8,150,000 acres of Swamp and University Lands would be handed over to the province.[115] When the Commons adjourned, the leader of the federal opposition, Robert Borden, delivered a full speech in Manitoba on the justice of Manitoba's demands to extension.[116]

In the Manitoba legislature, the freshman Liberal member for LaVerendrye, William Molloy, introduced a bill not only to repeal section 220 of the school act and thereby allow separate schools to exist, but to life the burden of "double taxation" from the Catholic community, especially in Winnipeg. Of the 20,167 pupils enrolled (with 12,730 in average daily attendance) in all of Winnipeg's schools in 1911, he estimated that there were between 1,200-1,300 Catholic children being educated in the parochial schools. The bill was defeated thirty-four to one (in a forty-three-member House). As a spokesman for the French Catholic members of the legislature (three in all), Joseph Bernier voted against it, claiming that Molloy was moved by party interests. *Les Cloches* censured Molloy for not consulting other Catholic members before introducing the bill, and, while the situation in Winnipeg was unjust and so recognized by Catholics, Bernier was justified in his opposition, according to Langevin.[117]

Mgr. Stagni wrote Laurier in July about his concern for a Catholic separate school in Keewatin, but the prime minister was in England attending the Imperial Conference.[118] When he returned the campaign for the September 21 federal election was entering its final phase. Clifford Sifton had bolted the Liberal party to campaign for the Conservatives against Laurier and reciprocity. He took with him eighteen more Toronto Liberal party members and thus considerably weakened Liberal chances for re-election. Sifton campaigned actively in rural Ontario where the "no-popery" cry was heard once again in a federal election.[119] In southwestern Ontario, Bishop Fallon defended himself against his accusers, but added his anti-French bias to a population already aroused by anti-Catholic feelings.[120] The federal Conservatives in Ontario added additional fuel by critizing the *Ne Temere* decree of 1907 by which the Roman Catholic church in Quebec relegated to itself the right to annul mixed marriages.[121] Perhaps the dominant cry, raised deliberately by the Conservatives, was national loyalty to counter the threat of continentalism, the anti-Americanism that had lain dormant for many years and was now aroused by reciprocity.[122] In Manitoba, reciprocity was attacked on the basis that it impeded national and imperial development, but the boundaries issue was trumpeted everywhere by Conservatives, with Roblin and Rogers leading in denouncing the Liberals.[123]

In Quebec, the election took on a complexion quite different from that in the rest of Canada. A loose coalition of imperialists, Conservatives, nationalists, and autonomists united to inflict severe damage on Liberal expectations of solid support among the French. The naval question was of paramount interest to the nationalists led by Bourassa, who accused Laurier of being personally responsible for reducing Canadian autonomy and of surrendering the school rights of Roman Catholics in the west.[124] Quebec imperialists who witnessed the effectiveness of Bourassa's strategy financed his campaign to damage further Laurier's chances of re-election. Clerical elements, whose lingering suspicion of Laurier and the Liberal party re-surfaced, added their voices to the growing chorus of anti-Liberal rhetoric throughout the country. Laurier denounced the Bourassa-Borden-Monk-Sifton alliance but it was this unlikely combination that lead to his defeat at the polls.[125]

When the votes were counted, the Conservatives had an overwhelming majority, 138 to 87: Ontario gave Borden 73 seats, Quebec 27. Manitoba, where the strongest provincial Conservative party in Canada had been in office for eleven years, elected eight Conservatives and two

Liberals.[126] Langevin had not participated in any overt fashion to defeat Laurier, other than chiding one of his priests for speaking publicly in favour of a federal Liberal candidate in Saskatchewan.[127] Roblin had previously assured the archbishop that if the Conservatives gained power, he would settle the Manitoba school question with them; furthermore, Langevin was certain the nationalists would help "if they conquer Quebec."[128] After he learned of Laurier's defeat, the archbishop observed:

> Laurier qui a sacrifié ses frères du Manitoba au fanatisme anglais et protestante reçoit le coup de pied des anglais protestants d'Ontario! - C'est une juste retribution! Il aurait été le premier homme du pays et pour toujours s'il avait fait courageusement son devoir en 1896 et 1905.[129]

To Roblin he wrote, "What a victory for Borden in Ontario and for Bourassa in Quebec!"[130] In his first letter to Prime Minister Borden, Langevin spoke of the "real distress" suffered by Catholics in financing their schools; and in his second letter remarked about Keewatin:[131]

> My wish is not evidently to create any disturbance or to prevent the so much desired tranfer of any part of the Keewatin District to Manitoba; but our school rights cannot be given away without wounding justice and weakening the very Constitution of the country. So it is my ardent wish and sincere hope, that you will see your way to protect these school rights, and, at the same time, to give satisfaction to our "Province", which stands in such great need of this extension.[132]

As the reins of power were being handed over, Langevin may have perceived the final solution to a problem that had haunted him from the beginning of his episcopate. He had another reason for rejoicing at the trend of recent events; on November 5 he assisted at the consecration of Mgr. O.-E. Mathieu of Quebec City as Bishop of Regina. French Catholic episcopal solidarity in the prairie provinces was assured - at least until the next vacancy occurred.[133]

Summary

After the provincial election of 1907, Premier Roblin tried to effect a reconciliation between Franco-Manitobans and the larger Manitoban society by discussing with Langevin the possibility of appointing a French-Canadian cabinet minister in his government. Both he and the archbishop recognized, however, that the political climate in the province precluded such a move. The fact that it would be interpreted as another political favour for the Roman Catholics would damage the image of the Conservative party. What both premier and archbishop did welcome was the legal opinion on compulsory education. Catholic children would not be forced to attend public schools, as Langevin had feared. Roblin's government allowed the whole issue to drop from sight. When it was briefly resurrected in 1910, it was overwhelmingly rejected in the legislature.

Roblin played a skilful game with Laurier in the negotiations on the extension of Manitoba's boundaries. Extension was provincial Conservative policy since 1899 but did not become intertwined with educational problems until 1903. Thereafter the two issues became inseparable. Once the physical boundaries of the extended province were settled, the financial arrangements became the stumbling block. At first, Laurier denied that the school question and the boundaries dispute were related, as he had stated in 1908. In his controversy with Sbaretti, Laurier argued that Manitoba would erupt if the school issue were allowed to surface along with the boundary question. When pressed by the delegate, Laurier argued that the social disruption in Manitoba, should it ever occur, would involve many other provinces. When the delegate would not desist, Laurier warned him that minority rights across Canada would be imperilled. Reflection finally led the prime minister to concede that separate schools were legitimately a part of the extended province of Manitoba. But he would not allow a separate school to be erected in the territory to be annexed. Laurier feared that once a Catholic school district was established, the Manitoba school question would again inflame the whole country, as it had in 1896.

When the election came in 1911, the Manitoba school question could scarcely be discerned in the controversy over the naval question and reciprocity. In Manitoba Langevin had supported the Conservative party and took some satisfaction out of the Liberal defeat at the polls. The archbishop trusted Roblin, who promised a final solution once the Conservative party was in power in Ottawa. The archbishop knew, and Laurier agreed, that Roblin was incapable of guaranteeing a final solution himself, whatever his personal motives, because his own provincial cabinet would not follow him. With Conservative parties in power in both Manitoba and Ottawa, prospects seemed ideal. Roblin had agreed to get the same school rights for Catholics in Manitoba as their co-religionists had in Alberta and Saskatchewan and this minimum was acceptable to the archbishop. As a final triumph, a French Canadian was named Bishop of Regina. With Laurier out of the way, Langevin believed that a satisfactory compromise could be reached quickly.

1. Langevin papers, LB 8, Langevin to Campbell, January 5, 1906.

2. _Ibid._, LB 8, Langevin to Cherrier, January 6, 1906.

3. _Ibid._, LB 8, Langevin to Russell, January 27, 1906.

4. _Ibid._, LB 8, Langevin to Hacault, January 30, 1906.

5. _Ibid._, MCPM, Roblin to Langevin, February 1, 1906.

6. _Ibid._, LB 9, Langevin to Haccault, February 4, 1906.

7. _Ibid._, LB 9, Langevin to Roblin, February 5, 1906. Langevin's underlining.

8. _Ibid._, QS, 1906-7, Gorden to McPherson, February 12, 1906.

9. _Ibid._, LB 9, Langevin to Sbaretti, February 16, 1906.

10. _Ibid._, LB 9, Langevin to Russell, February 17, 1906 and _Ibid._, Langevin to Prud'homme, February 17, 1906.

11. Quoted in the _Ottawa Free Press_, February 28, 1906.

12. Laurier papers, Laurier to Sbaretti, March 3, 1906.

13. _Ibid._, Sbaretti to Laurier, March 6, 1906.

14. Langevin papers, LB 9, Langevin to Sbaretti, March 4, 1906.

15. Manitoba, _Sessional papers_ (No. 2), 9 Ed. VII, 382.

16. _Ibid._, 392

17. Ross, _op. cit._, 110.

18. Morton, _op. cit._, 296.

19. Ross, _op. cit._, 105.

20. Langevin papers, LB 10, Langevin to Goulet, March 6, 1907.

21. _Ibid._, LB 10, Langevin to Mon cher père recteur, February 18, 1907; Langevin to Bastien, February 24, 1907 and Langevin to Lorian, February 24, 1907.

22. _Ibid._, LB 10, Langevin to Martin, March 5, 1907.

23. _Ibid._, Langevin to Haccault, March 6, 1907.

24. _Ibid._, LB 9, Langevin to Rogers, December 27, 1906.

25. Morton, _op. cit._, 295.

26. Turenne, *op. cit.*, 75.

27. Langevin papers, QS 1906-7, Langevin to the Editor of the *Free Press*, March 13, 1907.

28. *Ibid.* Worded as in the original.

29. The *Tribune*, March 11, 1907.

30. Langevin papers, MCPM, Roblin to Langevin, March 13, 1907.

31. *Manitoba Free Press*, March 15, 1907.

32. Langevin papers, LB 10, Langevin to Senecal, March 13, 1907 and *Ibid.*, MCPM, Langevin to Roblin, March 18, 1907.

33. Langevin papers, LB 10, Langevin to Goulet, May 4, 1907. In 1909 Inspector Potvin described how Rogers had compelled Fletcher to act against Manitoba's public schools displaying Catholic religious symbols just prior to the March 1907 provincial election. According to Rogers, the *Free Press* would send "visitors" to all suspected schools *and publish* the results on the eve of the election. *Ibid.*, QS 1909, Potvin to Langevin, July 31, 1909.

34. *Ibid.*, MCPM. Langevin to Roblin, [n.d.] 1907.

35. *Ibid.*, MCE, "Memo," [n.d.].

36. *Ibid.*, LB 10, Langevin to Goulet, August 30, 1907.

37. *Ibid.*, MCE, Langevin to Dr. McGinnis, September 3, 1907. McGinnis died shortly after and G.R. Coldwell assumed the post. See Manitoba, *Sessional Papers* (No. 2), [Department of Education] 1909, 381.

38. Laurier papers, Sbaretti to Laurier, November 11, 1906.

39. *Ibid.*, Laurier to Sbaretti, December 10, 1906.

40. *Ibid.*, Sbaretti to Laurier, January 15, 1907.

41. *Ibid.*, Laurier to Sbaretti, February 2, 1907.

42. Cook, *op. cit.*, 31.

43. Langevin papers, LB 9, Langevin to Tampiere, January 27, 1907.

44. *Ibid.*, LB 10, Langevin to Brandi, February 17, 1907.

45. *Ibid.*, LB 10, Langevin to Pope Pius X, May 7, 1907.

46. *Ibid.*, QS 1906-7, Brandi to Grenier, May 28, 1907.

47. *Ibid.*, LB 10, Langevin to Grenier, June 26, 1907.

48. *Ibid.*, LB 10, Langevin to Lecoq (Superior of St. Sulpice, Montreal), July 16, 1907.

49. Laurier papers, Sbaretti to Laurier, February 28, 1907.

50. *Ibid.* See Appendices E and F.

51. *Ibid.*, Laurier to Sbaretti, April 3, 1907.

52. Langevin papers, LB 10, Langevin to Grenier, May 7, 1907.

53. *Ibid.*, QS 1906-7, Grenier to Brandi, June 7, 1907.

54. Laurier papers, Sbaretti to Laurier, August 27, 1907.

55. *Ibid.*, Laurier to Sbaretti, August 28, 1907.

56. *Ibid.*, Sbaretti to Laurier August 31, 1907.

57. *Ibid.*, Laurier to Sbaretti, September 9, 1907. Laurier may have been aware of Premier Scott's views in Saskatchewan on the subject. Scott had written to Tarte, "Sifton and myself and others did fight last winter 1904-5 and we won; we obtained certain educational freedom for Saskatchewan, absolute Freedom from sectarian schools. Such being the fact, I am certainly surprised that one with the reputation for fairness as you have, should make statements intending to hold me up as a deserter from the principle that not any church but the state should control the education of the children." Langevin papers, QS 1906-7, Scott to Tarte, December [?], 1905, (copy).

58. Cook, *op. cit.*, 33.

59. Laurier papers, Sbaretti to Laurier, December 16, 1907.

60. *Ibid.*, Laurier to Sbaretti, December 23, 1907.

61. *Ibid.*, Scott to Sbaretti, December 30, 1907.

62. Roblin papers, Laurier to Roblin, May 18, 1908.

63. Laurier papers, Laurier to Merry del Val, June 20, 1908 (not sent). See Appendices C and F.

64. *Ibid.*

65. Cook, *op. cit.*, 33-4.

66. *Ibid.*, LB 11, Prud'homme to Dorion, October 16, 1908.

67. Beck, *op. cit.*, 107-119.

68. Langevin papers, LB 11, Langevin to Haccault, November 3, 1908.

69. Langevin papers, QS 1909, "Entrevue avec l'Honorable Roblin, le 20 février, 1909, à l'Archevêché de Saint Boniface." Laurier used S. Barker, Liberal member for Hamilton East, as an intermediary.

70. *Ibid.*, QS 1909, "An Act To Amend 'The Public School Act'," February 22, 1909.

71. *Ibid.*, QS 1909, Sbaretti to Langevin, February 23, 1909. Nobis huius negotii tractatio commissa, ac instructiones ab *Emo* Secretario Status Sanctitatis Suae datae, quae *scrupulose* sequunti sumus, *ibid.*, March 5, 1909. In translation: "The responsibility for carrying on negotiations has been entrusted to me by his Eminence the Secretary of State, whose instructions we must follow completely."

72. Roblin papers, Laurier to Roblin, February 26, 1909.

73. Langevin papers, QS, Langevin to Sbaretti, February 27, 1909. Bégin, who was also ordered to remain silent, protested strongly. *Ibid.*, DA, Bégin to Sbaretti, February 25, 1909.

74. *Ibid.*, MCPM, Roblin to Langevin, February 22, 1909 and Langevin to Roblin, February 23, 1909.

75. *Ibid.*, QS 1909, "Entrevue du 2 mars, 1909, avec M. Roblin premier ministre, et M. Rogers, ministre des travaux publics, à l'archevêché."

76. *Ibid.*

77. *Ibid.*, DA, Sbaretti to Langevin, March 5, 1909. See Alternative A in Appendix D.

78. *Ibid.*, Sbaretti's underlining.

79. *Ibid.*, QS 1909, "Voyage à Montréal et à Ottawa, depart le 4 mars, 1909."

80. *Ibid.*, QS 1909, "Déclarations historiques de Mr. Joseph Martin au sujet de la question des écoles au Manitoba. Traduction d'un article de la Montréal Gazette du 10 mars, 1909."

81. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Sbaretti, March 11, 1909.

82. *Ibid.*, QS 1909, "Entrevue avec l'Honorable Colin Campbell, Procureur Général du Manitoba, à Montréal, le 12 mars, chez mon frère, le curé d'Hochelaga."

83. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Sbaretti, March 13, 1909.

84. *Ibid.*, QS 1909, "Entrevue avec l'Honorable Roblin, Premier Ministre du Manitoba," April 1, 1909.

85. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Sbaretti, April 13, 1909.

86. *Ibid.*, OCPM, Langevin to Laurier, April 23, 1909.

87. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Sbaretti, April 26, 1909, and *Ibid.*, Langevin to Roblin, April 26, 1909.

88. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Merry del Val, April 28, 1909.

89. *Ibid.*, LB 12, Langevin to Sbaretti, June (?), 1909.

90. Roblin papers, Laurier to Roblin, November 30, 1909.

91. Langevin papers, LB 13, Langevin to Sbaretti, December 28, 1909.

92. Roblin papers, *loc. cit.*, R.S.M., 1902, C12.

93. Langevin papers, *loc. cit.* "Or, cette interpretation donnée par le Conseil Privé à l'Acte du Manitoba ne s'applique pas simplement à cette province, pour l'excellente raison que le pacte dont il est ici question a été conclu, non pas avec les seuls habitants du Manitoba - Manitoba n'existait pas alors que le pacte a été conclu - mais avec TOUS les habitants de la Terre de Rupert et des Territories du Nord-Ouest, comme l'attestent, d'une manière indiscutable, les lettres du gouverneur-général et du premier ministre du Canada à Mgr. Taché, en date du 16 février 1870, le proclamation du gouverneur-général en date du 6 décembre 1896, le cahier des droits (bill of rights) du gouvernement provisoire de l'Assiniboia et le préambule de *l'Acte du Manitoba*, 1870, (33 Vict. chap. 3). L'Acte du Manitoba, 1870, fut l'accomplissment du pacte vis-à-vis des populations comprises dans la nouvelle province du Manitoba." Landry, *Les Ecoles du Nord-Ouest*, 28.

94. Langevin papers, LB 13, Langevin to Bégin, December 28, 1909.

95. *Ibid.*, LB 13, Langevin to Savaète, January 14, 1910, and *ibid.*, Langevin to Landry, January 31, 1910.

96. *Ibid.*, QS, Bourassa to Langevin, February (?), 1910.

97. Ross, *op. cit.*, 128.

98. Morton, *op. cit.*, 317.

99. *Ibid.*, 318.

100. *Les Cloches de St. Boniface*, May 1, 1910.

101. Turenne, *op. cit.*, 81.

102. Langevin papers, LB 13, Langevin to Roblin, August 15, 1910.

103. *Ibid.*, LB 14, Langevin "To the Editor of the 'Free Press'," August 23, 1910.

104. *Ibid.*, LB 14, Langevin to Molloy, August 23, 1910.

105. Cook, *op. cit.*, 35. Laurier papers, "Winnipeg Delegation Re: Separate Schools," September 4, 1910.

106. Carrière, *Le Père Du Keewatin, Mgr. Ovide Charlebois, O.M.I., 1862-1933*, 105.

107. Laurier papers, Sinnot to Laurier, November 14, 1910.

108. *Ibid.*, Laurier to Sinnot, November 15, 1910 and Charlebois papers, LB 15, Charlebois to White (Comptroller R.N.W.M.P.), November 2, 1910.

109. Charlebois papers, LB 6A, Charlebois to Synnot [*sic*], May 11, 1911.

110. Carrière, *op. cit.*, 109.

111. *Ibid.*, 118.

112. Langevin papers, LB 14, Langevin to Savaète, November 11, 1910.

113. Beck, *op. cit.*, 121. The naval question was uppermost in Quebec in 1910 and Laurier considered reciprocity as an alternative. During his trip west in September 1910, the prime minister heard Canadian farmers complain about the high tariff and agreed to hold talks with the Americans on reducing tariff rates. Negotiations, begun in October and concluded in January 1911, were debated until the Commons adjourned (*ibid.*, 122).

114. *Canadian Annual Review*, 1911, 530. The federal government stood on the resolutions adopted on July 13, 1908.

115. *Ibid.*, 552.

116. Cook, *op. cit.*, 37.

117. *Canadian Annual Review*, 1911, 556.

118. Laurier papers, Stagni to Laurier, July 14, 1911.

119. Beck, op. cit., 123. Sifton left the Liberal party on February 28, 1911.

120. Ibid., 126.

121. Ibid., 127.

122. Ibid., 125.

123. In English-speaking Canada, reciprocity was the dominant issue.

124. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, 128.

125. Skelton, op. cit., II, 379.

126. Beck, op. cit., 135.

127. Langevin papers, LB 15, Langevin to Shilbert, September 15, 1911.

128. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Rev. B. Doerpfler, September 5, 1911.

129. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Beaudry, September 23, 1911.

130. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Roblin, September 26, 1911.

131. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Borden, October 3, 1911.

132. Ibid., LB 15, MCPM, Langevin to Borden, October 25, 1911.

133. Morice, op. cit., 276-7.

CHAPTER VII

THE KEEWATIN AFFAIR, 1912

Prime Minister Robert Borden's cabinet was sworn into office on October 10, 1911.[1] Robert Rogers became Minister of the Interior while Frederick Monk, leader of the Quebec Conservatives, became Minister of Public Works. Two other French Canadians, L.P. Pelletier and W.B. Nantel, also entered the cabinet. It was decided that the "unfortunate legacy" from the Laurier regime, the boundaries question, would be settled quickly with as little commotion as possible.[2] During his western tour prior to the election, Borden had pledged in Winnipeg that "Manitoba was entitled to the extension of her boundaries upon just and reasonable terms."[3]

Langevin wrote the prime minister twice before parliament convened on November 15 without receiving a reply and was forcibly struck by the political hypocrisy of Liberal newspapers which had formerly proclaimed that the school question had been settled and were now insisting that it was up to the Conservatives to "régler cette question."[4] Langevin was hopeful that with four Catholics (the three French Canadians and Charles Doherty, Minister of Justice) in the cabinet there was more than an outside chance that the school question could be solved to his satisfaction.[5] On behalf of the Catholic archbishops of Canada, Bruchési wrote Borden after their meeting in Quebec to acknowledge "la reconnaissance pour les catholiques de droits que la Constitution garantissait et que des lois regrettables ont abolis."[6] With growing optimism Langevin produced a revised edition of amendments to the Manitoba

Public Schools Act, ensuring taxes and separate school districts for Catholic ratepayers.[7] A revision was in order since Roblin had promised before leaving for Ottawa that "Il réglerait notre question et nous donnerait la même situation que dans la Saskatchewan et l'Alberta." And proceeding in this optimistic vein, Langevin allowed that

> si nous avons le droit d'ériger des districts scolaires separées quand il y a dix enfants dans les campagnes, et 30 ou 40 dans les villes, et si l'on affermissait definitivement ce que nous avons, c'est a dire, une école normale, ... inspecteurs français, et les livres catholiques que nous avons, nous aurions plus que dans les deux surdites provinces.

But he expected the four Catholic cabinet ministers to stand firm and grant nothing unless prior agreement was reached on the school question.[8]

Senator Landry, leader of the Conservatives in the Senate, had agreed to help Bishop Charlebois in his overtures to the government to get a separate school district in Le Pas before the annexation bill was passed in the Commons.[9] A petition was drawn up and sent on December 1, 1911, after Roblin had returned from the first round of negotiations in Ottawa. The petition stated:

> The humble petition of the undersigned, resident ratepayers of Le Pas, Dist. Keewatin, N.W.T. ask that His Majesty's government will be pleased
>
> I. To create, (under provisions made in Revised Statutes of Canada, 1906: chap. 62: cl. 6) in the North West Territories, a Council of Education destined to aid the Commissioner of the said territories in the performance of his duties.
>
> II. To grant to the said Commissioner in Council (in virtue of chap. 62: cl. 10 as above) authority to make ordinances respecting education.

> III. To establish, or cause to be established by the said Commissioner in Council (in virtue of chap. 62 as above) a School district at Le Pas, limited to the defined area of 500 acres forming the Le Pas townsite.
>
> IV. To declare, or cause to be declared by ordinance (in virtue of chap. 62: cl. 10 as above) that the majority of ratepayers of the said school district may establish such schools therein as they think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor.
>
> V. That the minority of the ratepayers therein may (in virtue of the same Clause) establish separate schools therein; the ratepayers establishing such separate schools shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof.
>
> And Your Petitioners will ever pray
>
> (Signed)
> Arthur Larose M.D.
> Mastai Poirier
> Joseph Smith [10]

Anticipating the eventual uniformity of separate school legislation for the three prairie provinces, Langevin wrote Bishop Mathieu of Regina that a meeting should be arranged between themselves and Bishop Legal of St. Albert to agree on a series of English and French textbooks for the west and sent along a suggested list of his own recommendations.[11]

When the premier and archbishop met in St. Mary's church in Winnipeg on December 1, 1911, Roblin described his meeting with Borden and the Ontario representatives. The negotiations, Langevin informed Stagni, had been temporarily suspended because of Ontario's insistence on having a port on Hudson's Bay. Nothing had been said about schools because both Monk and Doherty were absent when he called on them. Roblin then assured Langevin that the Manitoba School Act would be amended to permit urban separate school districts in Winnipeg, Brandon, and Portage la Prairie, and in St. Boniface, when it became part of greater Winnipeg. Furthermore, a third French Catholic inspector, G.R. Brunet, had been appointed in the Department of Education and St. Boniface Normal School would "always" have a Catholic director. There was also a possibility of having a second member on the Advisory Board. Roblin was most optimistic: Manitoba's Catholic schools would certainly be better off than those in Alberta and Saskatchewan if the premier's promises materialized. Quoting Roblin directly, he continued, "I hope the Catholics will not have to pay a double school tax next year." Roblin also unexpectedly ventured into the ecclesiastical deep: "I am disappointed that no cardinal has been appointed for Canada. I think the catholics are numerous enough in this country to justify this appointment. I wonder why Canada is left in the shade when the United States are so well treated. We would like to have a cardinal." Langevin lauded Roblin as a "brave homme" and seconded his sincerity to the delegate and the pope: "Honi soit qui mal y pense."[12]

From Ottawa Frederick Monk inquired about the status of bilingual teaching in Manitoba and the nature of the oath taken by teachers. Langevin informed him that, by bilingual education, he meant instruction that was half-English and half-French, and acknowledged that he was responsible for amending the oath in such a way that the teachers were relatively free to teach religion as they pleased during the school day. He also advised Monk that the opportunity to harmonize French bilingual education in the three prairie provinces had arrived:

> Il faudrait pour le français avoir le même situation que dans les deux provinces voisine où l'enseignement de cette langue n'est pas soumis au controle du Conseil de l'Enseignement ou d'éducation; tandis que pour les autres langues étrangères à l'anglais et en français on ne peut les enseigner qu'à 3.30.[13]

The Union Point case in Manitoba may have been what alerted Monk to get this further information from the archbishop. At Union Point, French-speaking Manitobans had tried to convert the local English-speaking school into a bilingual one and were rebuffed by the trustees. They sued the Union Point public school board, were upheld, and the trustees were fined $20. An appeal by the trustees to Judge Prud'homme of St. Boniface was dismissed. Prud'homme defined bilingual education as teaching French first, then English, until both languages were equally well understood and then developing both simultaneously "degree by degree." As a result of this judgement, the Minister of Education, G.R. Coldwell, charged that the English language was being deliberately down-graded and labelled the denial of the use of English a "crime."[14] As more immigrants poured into the province, more conflicts could arise and the status of the English language would be jeopardized.[15]

Before Parliament reconvened on January 7, 1912, Langevin had contacted the four Catholic ministers in Borden's cabinet and urged them to support the minimum he wanted for Manitoba - equality of separate school education with the other two prairie provinces, that is, public tax support, Catholic schools, separate school districts, Catholic teachers and inspectors, and bilingual instruction.[16] Although Stagni urged Langevin to accept taxes and separate schools without separate school districts, Langevin balked because the Catholic schools would be under Protestant boards. Langevin sent a copy of his proposed school law for Manitoba to Monk with instructions that it be handed over to the Minister of Justice for his perusal.[17] According to Roblin, Rogers had to demand the same concessions from the cabinet of which he was a member as he had asked of the previous cabinet for twelve years - "autrement sa position ne serait pas tenable," Langevin added. "If Roblin doesn't do anything for Catholic schools after the land is annexed then the Irish in Winnipeg will begin a campaign against Roblin and he won't be able to restrain then," Langevin wrote Pelletier.[19] Before the session opened Rogers travelled to Winnipeg, where he met with Langevin and explained that taxes and separate schools without districts was all that Langevin could reasonably expect. He indicated that Roblin could get these measures passed at the next session of the legislature.[20] Langevin was dissatisfied with this proposal and held out for his minimum; he was absolutely set on it. A dissenting voice from London, England, Cardinal Bourne's Tablet, editorialized that "if Manitoba extends its boundaries, the existing educational system should certainly be carried into the new territory," since there was danger that controversy might erupt if things were settled otherwise.[21]

On January 8, 1912 Roblin explained to Langevin how the public schools boards could assimilate Catholic schools in their districts. Once the boundaries were extended and the federal grant made, the Manitoba government would make a statutory declaration,

> affirmant que la clause de la loi de 1897, dans laquelle il est dit que s'il y a 25 enfants d'age à aller à l'école dans les campagnes, et 40 enfants dans les villes, la minorité, catholique ou protestante, aura droit a des maîtres catholiques ou protestants, et aussi aux allocations ou octrois des municipalités et du Government Local ou Fédéral, pourvu toute fois que cette minorité accepte l'inspection des écoles et propose des maîtres diplomés.

It was impossible to have separate school districts "à cause de l'état des esprits," and Sifton agreed that this was so. Once the provincial legislative session was over, Catholics would advise the Winnipeg and

Brandon public school boards of their intentions to hand over the parochial schools, but because of the lack of available space they would be allowed to keep their own schools and the government would ensure a provincial grant. Langevin conceded it would be a step forward but "ce serait encore une faible portion de nos droits."[22] As a scenario for takeover, it raised several questions in Langevin's mind. How could school taxes be transferred without school districts? Who would administer this money? The "no separation clause" would remain. Agitation in Winnipeg was possible if Roblin could not deliver. Transfer of school lands posed other problems. If Manitoba was to be the same size and receive the same grant as Alberta and Saskatchewan, why not have the same school system? Was it true what they were saying in Ottawa and Rome, that Roblin could not be trusted?[23]

A delegation of Winnipeg Catholics petitioned the archbishop to enlist their aid in the struggle for Keewatin's Catholic school. In their petition they introduced a nice distinction by referring to the present on-going school question as the "old Manitoba school question" and the fight for school rights in the new territory as the "new Manitoba school question." The delegates proposed a "monster public meeting" if federal legislation were introduced that did not include separate school rights, to "strengthen the hands of our friends and well-wishers in the House and thus furnish them with material for waging an effective campaign in behalf of Justice and Catholic rights." The petition was submitted to Langevin "for consideration and approval ... as the Representative of the Catholic Church in Western Canada."[24] But he was well aware of the condition the apostolic delegate had imposed on him after meeting with the archbishops of Canada in November - silence.[25]

Langevin was hesitant in allowing Roblin to proceed with negotiations with the federal government on the land transfer without including separate schools. His spokesman on the Advisory Board, Rev. Father Cherrier, counselled him not to yield on this vital point. Langevin was in a quandry. He admitted to Monk that he did not wish to weaken Borden and Roblin; Roblin was "l'incarnation de la loyauté" and should not be asked for remedial legislation. There had been a surge of ill-feeling across English Canada against the Ne Temere decree, and the Irish were seeking an English college at the University of Manitoba: "le moment est mal choisi pour soulever une nouvelle question d'écoles du nouveau."[26] On January 29, 1912, Langevin determined to have separate schools written into the annexation agreement and advised Prime Minister Borden and Mgr. Stagni of his resolve.[27] In the midst of these hectic activities, Langevin's brother Achille died and his uncle Mgr. Racicot became gravely ill; Langevin left hurriedly for Montreal. Dwelling on his bereavement and evaluating the political situation, the archbishop pondered the real possibility of a ministerial crisis in Ottawa.[28]

Trying to thrust Borden on the horns of a dilemma, Mgr. Charlebois gave him the choice of either abolishing existing separate school rights in Keewatin or re-establishing dormant school rights in Manitoba.[29] Although Borden did not see the question in this light, Langevin was convinced that "le salut est dans le Keewatin" and that, to get the results he wanted, he had to find some way to get the two federal parties to unite on a policy for Keewatin schools.[30] During his trip east, he decided to see Stagni and discovered from him that he had support from an unexpected quarter: "Suivant des instructions spéciales de Son Eminence le Cardinal Secrétaire d'Etat et Sa Sainteté, je n'ai pas manqué d'insister auprès de plusiers membres du governement fédéral, pour que nos droits soient reconnus dans le Keewatin."[31] Stangi then defended his predecessor, Mgr. Sbaretti, against Langevin's complaint that he had allowed the school clauses in the autonomy acts of 1905 to go unchallenged; the papal delegates were doing their best.[32]

While in the east Langevin had no time to attend an important conference of l'Association Canadien Français de l'Education d'Ontario in Ottawa on February 14. Rather, after ascertaining the mood of the federal government, he hurried to Winnipeg to confer with Roblin. The Conservatives risked too much if they delayed the bill for another session and the government was determined to pass the measure even if the Catholic cabinet ministers decided to oppose it "en bloc." Langevin intended to get Roblin to send a written declaration to Doherty outlining what he intended to do for Catholics about school taxes and school laws. Doherty had been alerted to Langevin's plans and agreed to contact Roblin.[33]

The night he returned to Winnipeg the archbishop held the first of a series of meetings with Premier Roblin. Roblin proposed as a first step that a Catholic delegation approach the premier asking simply for an end to double taxation in Winnipeg and Brandon. After that he would approach the Winnipeg public school board to convince them to rent the Catholic schools and pay the teachers. As a final step, he would fix the working arrangement through provincial legislation. Langevin rejected this strategy, pointing out that the Winnipeg board had been approached unsuccessfully more than three times with the same proposal. Nevertheless, he promised to try to get another delegation together. The next day, at the archbishop's request, Edward O'Connor, solicitor of the Winnipeg Catholic School Committee called on Roblin and, after listening to his proposal for a delegation, opted for a meeting between the Liberal party and Roblin to discuss granting equality in school rights as in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Another meeting called by Langevin that afternoon with his episcopal council and the priests of all other ethnic parishes in Winnipeg resulted in a rejection of both Roblin's and O'Connor's proposals. They were agreed that the transfer bill should contain the separate school clauses. Langevin conveyed his regrets to Roblin through the attorney-general, Colin Campbell, who called later in the afternoon.[34]

Roblin was in Le Pas that day where he attended a banquet and spoke privately with Bishop Charlebois. What Roblin had to convey sounded very much like a trap to Charlebois, who warned Langevin of his distrust of the premier: "Mr. [sic] Roblin me dit que vous avez accepté l'amendement qu'il se propose de faire passer. Comment se fait-il que vous me disiez dans votre télégramme d'exiger nos droits comme une condition sine qua non pour l'annexation?"[35] Charlebois termed a smokescreen Roblin's statement that it would take the bill three more months to get through parliament.[36] In Winnipeg Langevin met with Horace Chevrier of the provincial Liberal party. Chevrier thought a proposed meeting between the Liberals and Roblin quite impossible but he would try.[37] The archbishop became more certain that nothing substantial could be gained from the provincial Conservatives unless the two parties agreed, and wrote Doherty to this effect.[38] He convened a meeting that evening of prominent Catholic members of the two parties who thought the federal bill should be held over to another session. They agreed that Roblin was "insuffisant et incertain." If the bill were passed that session, it should contain a separate school clause.[39] Keeping Monk and Senator Landry abreast of developments, Langevin pressed for a delay in passage of the bill and remarked: "je suis accablé de travail et meurt de fatique!"[40] The next day he wrote Roblin that the Catholic delegation would not be sent to meet the Winnipeg board.[41] The irony did not escape him that since the Protestants were a minority in Keewatin, he was really struggling to protect their minority rights.[42]

Conceding that the Manitoba government and the Winnipeg board would not restore separate schools, Langevin became more and more convinced that Ottawa was the key to their restitution. He emphasized to Stagni that the Liberal party could logically support any Conservative policy to restore separate schools because a Liberal government had enacted the 1875 Northwest Territories Act and the 1905 autonomy acts, all of which established the principle of separate schools. If the two major political parties were incapable of co-operation at the provincial level, there was at least a possibility the two could work out an equitable solution at the federal level. While the archbishop did not see Bourassa when in Montreal, he was convinced that the Quebec nationalists would also support separate schools in Manitoba.

And given the recent letter of the Catholic archbishops of Canada to the prime minister, demonstrating episcopal solidarity on the issue, the outcome appeared certain.[43]

Another meeting between Roblin and Langevin took place at the archiepiscopal residence on February 19. The premier regretted that the delegation had not been sent; the archbishop dismissed the statement summarily. When the archbishop in turn asked that a written guarantee be sent to the four Catholic federal cabinet ministers, the premier balked. Then,

> Quand je [Langevin] lui ai demandé ensuite, de préciser et de mettre par écrit, ce qu'il était prêt à faire, et dans quel sens il voulait interpreter la loi, il m'a répondu qu'il voulait arriver à délivrer les catholiques du fardeau d'une double taxe scolaire, qu'il espérait y amener le "Bureau des écoles publiques de Winnipeg" à le faire, et qu'il était disposé à consacrer cette concession par l'introduction d'une clause interpretative dans la loi scolaire; mais il a ajouté qu'il n'était pas absolument certain de réussir, qu'il pouvait échouer, mais qu'il s'exposerait volontiers à tomber. Il m'a nommé dix deputés conservateurs prêts à résigner s'il est question de rétablir les écoles séparées! Alors je lui ai dit que j'allais consulter encore, mais que je ne croyais pas pouvoir, en conscience risquer à ce point, surtout ci, en retour de cette concession minime, incertaine et aléatoire, il fallait renoncer à la clause restrictive dans le bill du transfert. "Si vous réussissez, ai'je dit, ce sera un minimum qui pourra nous être enlevé, et si vous échouez, nous aurons tout perdu, et sans aucune compensation."[44]

Following Langevin's recommendation and continuing to urge passage of an annexation bill with a "restrictive" separate school clause, Roblin foresaw the following consequences: a political crisis followed by Borden's downfall and a religious crisis; Rogers left in an untenable position in Ottawa; the strengthening of his own position among his "partisans"; and no freedom to do anything more for Catholics. If the provincial boundaries were not extended, he could not be expected to consider Catholic interests. Without reaching a final decision Langevin stated he would contact Roblin when he made up his mind on the necessity for a "restrictive" clause.[45]

Bishop Charlebois petitioned Prime Minister Borden on behalf of the Catholic residents of Le Pas to protect separate school rights in the annexation bill and added in the accompanying letter that "this claim is a condition sine qua non of our concent [sic] to our annexation to the Province of Manitoba."[46] A copy of the petition was circulated to the Catholic members of Borden's cabinet and to Langevin and Stagni. Charlebois did not entertain high hopes of success: "je crains bien que nos efforts n'aboutissent qu'à triste résultat, mais au moins nous aurons la satisfaction d'avoir fait notre devoir," he wrote Senator Landry.[47] He also notified Langevin that his strategy was modelled on Laurier's in 1905: demand confessional schools then retreat to the minimum of what Alberta and Saskatchewan finally received from Ottawa. "Je n'ai aucun espoir dans la législature du Manitoba," he concluded.[48]

The apostolic delegate was again warned by Langevin that a crisis was imminent in Ottawa and the country if the bill was not transferred to another session.[49] The school question was now consuming all of Langevin's diminished energy, as the necessity to act became more imperative. The only remaining solution was federal enactment of a school clause: "c'est une nécessité qui aura des conséquences terribles, mais qui aura aussi de bons résultats," he urged Monk.[50] Pleading family bereavement, Langevin begged off appearing at a provincial state banquet after being invited by the lieutenant-governor.[51]

Returning from Quebec City, Charlebois wrote Langevin that the four Catholic cabinet ministers were ready to resign on a signal from the two Manitoba prelates. Langevin's cousin Thomas Chapais warned Charlebois, that if the cabinet ministers did not resign, and a bill was passed without a separate school guarantee, then a scapegoat would be sought and Archbishop Langevin would be a prime candidate. He could easily be accused of being too closely associated with the Conservative party and subsequently deceived by it. The archbishop's silence was also being misconstrued by some of his admirers:

> Bourassa, Héroux, etc., et nos braves de l'A.C.J.C. seront profondement désenchantés.... Jusqu'ici, vous leur avez fait tant de bien en leur donnant l'idéal d'un catholique, d'un évêque qui sait en toutes circonstances, reclamer ses droits et tous ses droits. Votre seul silence en ce moment solennel ferait crouler chez eux cet idéal et nuirait énormément au beau mouvement qui etait en train de se produir [sic] chez les jeunes.[52]

With brutal directness, Charlebois wondered whether the bribes tendered as concessions by Roblin could compensate for the general malaise "le mal général" created across the country. If the cabinet ministers resigned, there would be no immediate benefit but it would be a victory for the future, "car cela donnerait une poussée irrésistible au catholicisme sans peur et sans reproche qui se fait jour [sic] chez les nationalistes et chez les jeunes."[53]

Langevin wrote Charlebois at the same time and their messages crossed, but one piece of information was similar: Stagni, too, had mentioned to Langevin that the Catholic cabinet ministers would resign if it were absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, if the bill were passed without the clause, a situation that Langevin thought unlikely, "nous devons préparer doucement une lutte constitutionelle." In the event that the Borden government fell, Langevin hoped that Quebec would unite with the Catholics of Canada to obtain the same constitutional rights as those held by the Protestants.[54] The archbishop sent a copy of the Le Pas petition to the premier and in a conciliatory tone wrote, "You have done your best, I know," and added, "I have tried also to avoid dreadful complication; and it is a great relief to think that we cannot be held responsible if success did not crown our efforts." The archbishop would still have nothing to do with a formal delegation to the Winnipeg board, but O'Connor of the Catholic committee was left "free to act."[55]

One final attempt was made by the apostolic delegate, supported by the archbishops of Montreal and Ottawa, to have the federal government enact legislation enabling separate schools to be restored to the enlarged province of Manitoba. Doherty, the Minister of Justice, forwarded the intended legislation to Mgr. Stagni before the bill was introduced in the House. The apostolic delegate rejected it as a "proposed violation of the rights of the Catholic minority in Keewatin" and reserved the right "to follow whatever line of action we may deem opportune in order to vindicate and protect them." Stagni reiterated what he had said before: on legal grounds "there exists in Keewatin a constitutional law in which the provision is made for the establishment of a separate school system which cannot reasonably be denied." He continued:

> To my request that a clause be inserted in the boundaries bill for the preservation of the minority rights in Keewatin, it was answered 1. that Manitoba would refuse the extension of her limits on such a condition, and later 2. that such a clause would be unconstitutional. I do not wish to discuss the reasons given, but you will permit me to say only, that the first is no justification for the violation of another's rights and the second is not regarded as convincing and conclusive.[56]

When the federal government refused to delay the bill to another session, the delegate requested a written statement from Roblin indicating the "remedial measures" he would undertake at the next sitting of the legislature. Roblin would not put anything in writing. When the delegate asked indirectly for a private and written statement from Prime Minister Borden that would oblige the Manitoba government to carry out Borden's intentions regarding schools, it was not given. What was left in default of any previous understanding or pact between the federal and provincial government, he told Doherty, was the "affirmation of a desire, which however sincere, cannot be constructed [sic] in any sense as a reasonable guarantee." Since negotiations had been "abortive" the delegate was constrained to enter his protest.[57]

When the annexation bill was introduced without the "restrictive" separate school clauses, Stagni cautioned Langevin to remain silent and the archbishop complied.[58] L'Association catholique de la Jeunesse canadienne-française of St. Boniface immediately organized a protest in all Franco-Manitoban Catholic parishes to have their school rights restored.[59] Le Devoir, Langevin advised his supporters in Quebec, was sounding the right note, by limiting itself to straight news coverage without attempting to create a public outcry. The archbishop hoped that the Liberals would move an amendment to include separate schools but "si le bill passe sans clause, nous allons en souffrir mais ce sera pour la justice, et le droit comme Dieu ne meurt pas."[60] To Chapais, Langevin remarked that if the "six months' hoist" were given this bill "ce sera une rage contre nous, ici au Manitoba" and against Catholics generally across the Dominion. Thus, having written the principals involved, he was unwilling to do anything more to avoid provoking his antagonists, both Liberal and Conservative.[61]

Bill 115 entitled "An Act to provide for the extension of the Boundaries of the Province of Manitoba" had been introduced by Prime Minister Borden and given first reading March 4.[62] Conservative backbenchers Barrette and Lavalee queried the prime minister in the Commons whether any action had been taken on the Le Pas residents' petition to establish separate school districts in Keewatin. Borden replied that no action had been taken and further action was unnecessary at that time.[63] The leader of the opposition, Wilfrid Laurier, proposed an amendment on March 5 that was soundly defeated; he maintained that the terms of extension were "unfair and unjust both to the people of Manitoba as well as to the people of the other provinces of the Dominion." His amendment made no reference to the school question but dwelt at great length on the financial aspects of union. If there was any expectation of solidarity between Bourassa's nationalists and the Liberal party, it evaporated at this first test; only five Conservatives voted with the Liberals.[64] The Quebec nationalists who voted with the Conservatives justified their stand on the grounds that the minority in Keewatin did not have any legal right to separate schools.

Paul Lamarche, M.P. for Nicolet and a staunch nationalist, had voted for Laurier's amendment not on the basis of the financial argument given but on the separate school issue. He characterized the school question in Keewatin as the "same old school question" but in this case "under a new form as regards its legal aspects." The Northwest Territories

Act was in effect in the Keewatin district, he argued, and it contained provisions for separate schools that the Borden government had not incorporated into its bill extending the boundaries.[65] Both Monk and Pelletier, especially the latter, denied that there were any laws in force in the district of Keewatin that could legitimatize the establishment of separate schools. In an aggressive and legalistic speech to the Commons the Postmaster-General, L.P. Pelletier, denied that the Northwest Territories Act was operative in Keewatin: the Keewatin Act, which had been in operation from 1876 to 1905, made no provision for separate schools. In the latter year an order-in-council of the Liberal government annexed Keewatin to the Northwest Territories, an illegal and highly irregular procedure, according to Pelletier, because the government had no right under the law to effect such a union. When the statutes of Canada were revised in 1906 the Keewatin Act was not repealed; rather

> the men who were entrusted with the work, and who had been appointed by the government, finding themselves in presence of that complicated situation, were not going to tell the government who had appointed them that their order-in-council was a nullity, and they thought the best way to deal with the matter was to put in the appendix of the statutes a few words, that the Keewatin Act had become effete. There were quite a number of laws which became useless because of consolidation, they were all put in a special schedule at the end of the revised statutes, the Keewatin Act was lodged there, and then they put in a clause abolishing all the laws mentioned in that schedule, and that is the way the Keewatin Act has disappeared without the people or parliament practically knowing anything about it.[66]

Since no laws or ordinances were ever passed for separate schools in Keewatin and since the Keewatin Act had "disappeared," it was futile to speak of vested rights. Pelletier acknowledged the existence of public schools and one private Catholic school in Keewatin but "there were never any separate schools established in that country and we have been told why none were established. The commissioner of the Northwest Territories reported that the thing could not be done."[67] Furthermore, for the federal government to accede to demands to establish separate schools there, although it was within its power to do so, would have been "ill-advised." "It would have simply brought trouble, great trouble, and I think there is more to be gained for the minorities by not trying to do things like that."[68]

In his speech to the House Fredrick Monk identified himself as a member of the Catholic minority and maintained that where established rights were concerned he was steadfast in protecting them. "But I believe at the same time that we must confine our exactions as a minority to the clear case in which those rights exist under law. There should be strict adherence to the constitution." He denied that the boundaries and school questions were related and had "absolute confidence" that the Manitoba government would deal favourably with the minority in the annexed territory.[69] Langevin rebuked Monk for this statements: "Laurier doit jubiler," he wrote, "nous sommes abandonnés et sacrifiés... franchement, j'attendais mieux auprès ton attitude vis-à-vis de Laurier - qui nous a aussi sacrifié!" Mgr. Charlebois left for Ottawa immediately at Langevin's request "pour m'occuper de cette défence."[70]

Summing up arguments on second reading, Prime Minister Borden defended the boundaries act by re-asserting that Manitoba would not accept the extension of its boundaries with a separate school clause included. He referred to the apparent conflict in the British North America Act that, on the one hand, gave full power to the federal government to form a province and, on the other hand, distributed power between the federal and provincial government in altering the boundaries of a province. Borden concluded:

> We have in the one section direct authority for this parliament to determine the constitution of a province. In the other section we have not any such thing, and it seems to me absolutely impossible to conceive that you can have a province in Canada, such as Manitoba would be after the Bill had passed which would be governed as to one part of it by one constitutional provision in respect of education, and in another part of it, by another constitutional provision in respect of education. I do not believe that the British North America Act of 1871 contemplated any such thing ... but whether I am right or wrong in believing that that is constitutionally impracticable, I am absolutely certain that it is politically impracticable.[71]

Expressing confidence in the people of Manitoba to do right by the minority, the Prime Minister concluded debate and the bill was given second reading 114 to 76.[72]

The archbishop immediately confronted the apostolic delegate with the silence imposed on the episcopate. With heavy irony, he asked whether it should be left to the laity to restore their religious rights: the Catholic cabinet ministers had refused to resign and leadership had again devolved on the clergy.[73] Charlebois was particularly bitter and accused Monk of betrayal: "c'est une trahison des plus révoltante.... M. Laurier nous avait trahis; mais vous faites davantage."[74] The reaction to the bill in Ottawa was conclusive and the remaining chance lay with the Manitoba government. Without committing himself, Langevin directed O'Connor to lead a delegation to see Roblin: "now since we have only to deal with Mr. Roblin ... there must have been an understanding that he must do something in our favour before the law of *transfer* is *proclaimed*."[75] The archbishop gave notice that *Les Cloches* would break silence to declare that the Manitoba school question was not settled.[76]

Bourassa too had kept silent at Stagni's insistence, but after the defeat of the Laurier amendment he called a meeting at the National Monument. There he proposed two resolutions, which were endoresed unanimously:

> Que le Parlement, en annexant une partie de ces territoires à la province du Manitoba, ou à toute autre province, doit maintenir l'engagement qu'il a contracté solenellement en 1875, envers tous les citoyens du Canada, et sauvegarder dans leur integrité les droits des minorités qui habitent ou qui habiteront ces régions annexées.
>
> Que toute violation de cet engagement, tout abandon de ce devoir, constituerait une grave atteinte au pacte féderale et à la Constitution canadienne, et mériterait le censure de tous les Canadiens soucieux de l'honneur national, de l'equité et du droit.[77]

Acceptance of these resolutions deepened the rift between nationalists and Conservatives, and released a wave of popular indignation in Quebec.

When third reading began on March 12, A. Mondou, member for Yamaska, proposed an amendment that would have protected separate school rights in Manitoba from the date of the passing of the act. Paul Lamache argued that subsection 1 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act of 1870 safeguarded only those rights that existed at the time of confederation and within the proper limits of Manitoba; additional protection in the form of the Mondou amendment would safeguard the rights already held by the minority in Keewatin through the principle of separate schools implicit in the defunct order-in-council of 1905 placing Keewatin under the Northwest Territories Act.[78] This argument was squelched by the

Minister of Justice in a long speech, which concluded: "but that section (Article X of the North West Territories Act, 1906), never came into operation, and the mere enunciation of a principle does not generate legal rights."[79] Laurier sided with the government against the amendment, claiming that the enactment would not be worth the paper it was written on because it could not be imposed on Manitoba: "unless Manitoba agrees to this law this parliament has no authority to force it upon Manitoba." Only conciliation would work with that province, he averred, and the members of the government, especially Pelletier and Monk, would be in a humiliating position if "school rights were not restored to the minority."[80] With both sides of the House ranged against it, the amendment was negatived 160 to 24.

The last amendment to the bill was introduced by H. Beland, member for Beauce; it called for re-opening negotiations between the provincial and federal governments on education in the annexed territory.[81] Robert Rogers countered immediately that on February 22, 1909, with the Liberal party in power, a bill was transmitted from Ottawa to Manitoba, but no negotiations had taken place on education, and that he believed that Laurier did not favour any then or now.[82] After a brief exchange, a passage of Le Devoir was read into the record. It had printed a statement from Les Cloches that Archbishop Langevin had criticized Monk's speech asserting that the Manitoba school question was settled. Furthermore Langevin could not accept "the negation of constitutional rights of Keewatin." The article concluded with a special dispatch that the Caldwell [sic] amendments, introduced into the provincial legislature that day, had rendered the Catholic position in Manitoba worse than ever.[83] A Liberal member remarked, "so much for the promises made by the Hon. Mr. Roblin to the Hon. the Postmaster General."[84] The Beland amendment was voted down 108 to 52 and the members gave third reading to Bill 115 immediately thereafter. The House adjourned at 4:05 a.m.

In the Senate, John Costigan lauded the New Brunswick system of education: "I am glad to say that while our rights from the legal point of view have been denied, the administration of the law is pretty satisfactory and we have schools now that suit us very well." He then proposed an amendment to the motion for second reading, that the bill be read a second time

> with the understanding, that in the proper time, a clause will be added affirming the principle that the educational rights to which may be entitled the people of the proposed annexed territory under any law, imperial, federal, constitutional or provincial, or deriving from any treaty or compact, shall be safeguarded.[85]

This protective and catch-all amendment was voted down thirty to thirteen, and the bill was given second reading: Ottawa would not legislate on Manitoba's schools. "Est-ce une faute, est-ce un crime d'etre la minorité?" Charlebois asked Bourassa.[86]

Summary

With the Conservative party once again ensconced in Ottawa, Archbishop Langevin believed that the time for resolution of the vexatious school problem had arrived. What Roblin and Langevin agreed upon was a Manitoba school system equivalent to that in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Where they differed was in the method of implementing the system in the province. Roblin wanted negotiations with the urban boards, particularly Winnipeg and Brandon, after the annexation law had been passed. Langevin wanted a clause restoring school rights written into the federal annexation act.

As to the nature of the restored Catholic school system, Langevin had to be dissuaded by the apostolic delegate from pressing for Catholic school districts. Both Rogers and Roblin were one with the delegate on this issue. Because Catholic schools would be under Protestant boards, Langevin was very reluctant to acquiesce, although, in the end, he agreed. The archbishop's minimal position became the separate school settlement of Alberta and Saskatchewan.

During negotiations Langevin had been ordered to remain silent by the apostolic delegate. Rome had instructed the delegate to make especially sure that Catholic rights in Keewatin would be respected. Stagni tried to impress the Conservative government with legal arguments demonstrating that separate schools had in fact been established in Keewatin. Laurier had previously acknowledged that separate schools were legally established in the Northwest Territories, but refused permission to have a separate school erected at Le Pas. Borden's Postmaster General L.P. Pelletier conceded that the federal government could permit separate schools in the Keewatin District but would not because of the friction such a project would create. It was not a question of whether Catholics had the right to separate schools in Keewatin, but whether the federal government would permit exercise of that right. Neither the Liberal nor the Conservative governments would allow it. Borden argued that the extended province of Manitoba could not be administered by two different laws respecting education, and chose to exclude any reference to separate schools in the annexation instrument. It was a political decision; no Canadian court was consulted. When the annexation bill was introduced, French Canadians in Quebec and Manitoba wanted Langevin to speak out against it. The archbishop, however, was obliged to remain silent.

Towards the end of debate on the annexation bill, what remained was a "gentlemen's agreement" between Roblin and Borden that the province would placate the minority. During third reading, however, reports reached Ottawa that the Coldwell amendments, which were intended to make the necessary changes to accommodate Catholics, were rejected by Archbishop Langevin. Nevertheless parliament approved the annexation bill without a separate school clause in it.

1. Borden, *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoires*, I, 332.

2. *Ibid.*, 352.

3. Quoted in the *Canadian Annual Review*, 1911, 90.

4. Langevin papers, LB 15, Langevin to D'Amour (Director of "Action Social" in Quebec), November 16, 1911.

5. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Debuc (The Canadian College, Rome), November 12, 1911.

6. *Ibid.*, DA, Bruchési to Borden, November 7, 1911.

7. *Ibid.*, DA, An Act to amend "The Public School Act", 2nd edition, November, 1911.

8. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to LaRivière (Senator), November 19, 1911.

9. Charlebois papers, LB 8, Charlebois to Langevin, November 20, 1911.

10. Borden papers, to H.R.H. the Governor General in Council, December 1, 1911. For a brief discussion of the evolution of school legislation in the Northwest Territories to 1906 see Robert J. Carney, "Relations in Education between the Federal and Territorial Governments and the Roman Catholic Church in the Mackenzie District, Northwest Territories, 1867-1961" (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 92-100.

11. Langevin papers, LB 15, Langevin to Mathieu, December 1, 1911.

12. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Stagni, December 2, 1911.

13. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Monk, December 13, 1911.

14. *Canadian Annual Review*, 1911, 556.

15. See Langevin papers, QS 1912, Brunet to Langevin, March 20, 1912, for Fletcher's refusal to allow Brunet to conduct an inquiry at Union Point while the case was *sub judice*. For details of another case where English parents insisted on educating their children in a French public school, see the Correspondence *re* St. Claude School District, in Manitoba, *Sessional Papers* (No. 2), 4 Geo. 5, 1914, 297-309.

16. Langevin papers, LB 15, Langevin to Monk, January 3, 1912.

17. *Ibid.*, same to same, December 15, 1911.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Pelletier, December 19, 1911.

20. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Monk, January 3, 1912. Langevin sent his letters to Bishop O. Charlebois' brother Charles in Ottawa to be handed over personally to the cabinet ministers, especially Frederick Monk (Carrière file, C. Charlebois to Langevin, January 2, 1912). Bishop Charlebois felt that Liberals were spying on him while he was in Ottawa, (Langevin Papers, LB 15, Langevin to Monk, December 15, 1911).

21. The Tablet, January 6, 1912.

22. Langevin papers, QS 1912, "Communication strictement confidentielle," January 8, 1912.

23. Ibid., QS 1912, "School Question, January 1912."

24. Ibid., QS, 1912, "To His Grace Archbishop Langevin, " January 24, 1912. The Committee had twenty members: Messrs E. Cass, N. Bawlf, Dr. J. E. McKenty, Anton Tilly, T. D. Deegan, F. W. Russell, V. Dumoulin, M. J. Rodney, Dr. J. A. Devine, T. J. Murray, M. G. McNeil, W. J. Fulton, L. O. Genest, Henry Waas, A. E. Burns, J. E. Manning, Joseph Troy, A. J. H. Dubuc, Noel Bernier, M. Long and "the representatives of the Catholic Press" (ibid.). When the delegates saw Langevin he brought them abreast of university affairs informing them that the heads of the three Protestant colleges of the University of Manitoba favoured a change in status from an affiliation of colleges to a state university run by a board of governors, (ibid., "Memo of Meeting with College Heads," January 25, 1912).

25. Ibid., DA, Stagni to Langevin, November 20, 1911.

26. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Monk, January (?), 1912.

27. Ibid., DA, January 28, 1912 and Borden papers, Langevin to Borden, (telegram and letter), January 29, 1912.

28. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Bégin, January 30, 1912.

29. Borden papers, Charlebois to Borden, January 31, 1912.

30. Langevin papers, Langevin to Charlebois, January 31, 1912.

31. Ibid., DA, Stagni to Langevin, February 3, 1912.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., QS 1912, Langevin to Stagni, February 11, 1912.

34. Ibid., DH, "Question des écoles du Keewatin, février, 1912."

35. Charlebois papers, LB 8, Charlebois to Langevin, February 15, 1912.

36. *Ibid.* Langevin had indicated that a petition Charlebois had prepared for Roblin was defective, perhaps because it did not mention that separate school rights in Keewatin were, in Langevin's opinion, guaranteed by law.

37. Langevin papers, DH, "Question des écoles du Keewatin, février, 1912."

38. *Ibid.*, QS 1912, Langevin to Doherty, February 16, 1912.

39. *Ibid.*, DH, "Question des écoles du Keewatin, février 1912." Les principaux étaient M. l'avocat O'Connor, conservateur, M. l'avocat MacNeil, libéral, le Dr. MacKenty, libéral, M. F. W. Russell, conservateur, M. Beliveau, libéral, etc. - les Revérends Perès Coffee s.j., Cahill o.m.i. et Ploudre o.m.i. M. l'abbé Paré étaient aussi présents.

40. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Monk and Langevin to Landry, February 16, 1912.

41. *Ibid.*, DH, "Question des écoles du Keewatin, février, 1912."

42. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Bourassa, February 17, 1912.

43. Carrière file, Langevin to Stagni, February 16, 1912.

44. Langevin papers, DH, "Question des écoles du Keewatin, février, 1912."

45. *Ibid.*

46. Borden papers, Charlebois to Borden, February 19, 1912.

47. Charlebois papers, LB 15, Charlebois to Landry, February 19, 1912.

48. Langevin papers, DH, Charlebois to Langevin, February 20, 1912.

49. *Ibid.*, DA, Langevin to Stagni, February 22, 1912.

50. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Monk, February 22, 1912.

51. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Cameron, February 20, 1912.

52. Charlebois papers, LB 8, Charlebois to Langevin, February 23, 1912.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Langevin papers, LB 15, Langevin to Charlebois, February 23, 1912.

55. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Roblin, February 23, 1912.

56. *Ibid.*, DA, Stagni to Doherty, February 25, 1912.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, DA, Stagni to Langevin, March 1, 1912 and Langevin to Stagni, March 4, 1912.

59. *Ibid.*, QS 1912, Beaupré to Monsieur le curé, February 29, 1912.

60. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Drouin, February 28, 1912.

61. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Chapais, March 1, 1912.

62. *Statutes of Canada*, 2 Geo. V., Capt. 32, An Act to provide for the extension of the Boundaries of the Province of Manitoba.

63. House of Commons, *Debates*, March 4, 1912, cols, 4240-1.

64. *Ibid.*, col. 4398. The amendment reads:
That whilst the House is favourable to the extension of the boundaries of the province of Manitoba, it is of opinion that the terms under which it is proposed to make the said extension as set forth in this Bill and in the order in council of the 20th of February, 1912, are unfair and unjust both to the people of Manitoba as well as to the people of the other provinces of the Dominion.

65. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1912, cols, 4398-4405. See Appendix C.

66. *Ibid.*, col. 4447.

67. *Ibid.*, col. 4449.

68. *Ibid.*, col. 4450.

69. *Ibid.*, col. 4424.

70. Langevin papers, LB 15, Langevin to Monk, March 6, 1912.

71. House of Commons, *Debates*, March 6, 1912, col. 4493.

72. *Ibid.*, cols. 4494-5.

73. Langevin papers, LB 15, Langevin to Stagni, March 6, 1912. Rumilly feels that the nationalists, because they were young with their first taste of power, voted on the basis of self-interest not to jeopardize their future with the Conservatives. Rumilly, *op. cit.*, 447-8.

74. Charlebois papers, LB 15, Charlebois to Monk, March 7, 1912.

75. Langevin papers, LB 15, Langevin to O'Connor, March 7, 1912. Langevin's underlining.

76. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Langevin to Landry, March 7, 1912.

77. Quoted in Rumilly, *op. cit.*, 453.

78. The Mondou amendment reads:
That Bill (No. 115) be not now read a third time, but be referred back to the Committee of the Whole House in order that the following clause be inserted therein, after clause 7 of the said Bill:-
7a. Section 22 of the Manitoba Act, 1870, 33 Vic., chapter 3 shall apply to the territory added to the province under the provisions of this Act, with the substitution for paragraph 1 of the said section 22, of the following paragraphs:-
1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational or separate schools, which any class or [sic] persons have, at the date of the passing of this Act, by law or practice, in the territory added to the province under the provisions of this Act.
House of Commons, *Debates*, March 12, 1912, col. 4839.

79. *Ibid.*, col. 4858.

80. *Ibid.*, col. 4901.

81. *Ibid.*, col. 4394. The amendment reads:
That this House is of opinion that negotiations should be reopened with the government of Manitoba in order to define by amicable conference the status of minorities, either Protestant or Catholic, with regard to education in the light of existing laws in the annexed territory.

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*, cols. 4945-6.

84. *Ibid.*, col. 4946.

85. Senate, *Debates*, March 25, 1912, 712.

86. Charlebois papers, LB 15, Charlebois to *Le Devoir*, March 11, 1912.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION: A PROVINCIAL ISSUE

The Coldwell Amendments

Bishop Charlebois had no confidence whatever in the Manitoba government and wrote the apostolic delegate of his distrust:

> Permettez-moi, Excellence, de vous exposer franchment ma pensée: Nous n'avons rien à espérer de Winnipeg. Mr. Roblin est assez bien disposé, mais il est entouré de fanatiques qui, à moins d'y etre forcés par une attitude énergiques et bien prononcée de notre part, ne feront jamais de concessions qui en valent la peine.[1]

Even before receiving this advice Stagni released Archbishop Langevin and the bishops of his diocese from their imposed silence so that they could protest strongly against "cette injustice criant." Verbal statements were all that Roblin could be called to account for, yet the delegate was leery to press for compensation because the Manitoba government might object: he thought it prudent to wait until the present session of the legislature had prorogued before making any advances. "Je n'ai guère d'espoir, et je me prépare à une nouvelle déception."[2] The English Catholic press had remained largely silent during the Keewatin debate and the archbishop wanted it to raise its voice in concert with those of the bishops.[3] And on March 12, 1912, the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen was formed in Winnipeg, uniting various Catholic factions as a result of the school controversy.[4]

If the Manitoba government had serious intentions of rectifying Catholic grievances, it began badly. Inspector Potvin wrote Langevin that the Minister of Education was going to introduce amendments to the school law that would jeopardize the existence of bilingual instruction throughout the province. Coldwell would create a system of rural municipalities with centralized boards of trustees, which, if they were so disposed, could terminate bilingual instruction within their jurisdiction. The Catholic schools in these municipalities would be placed on the same footing as Catholic schools in the cities: "Je crois qu'un bureau rural, en majorité protestante, ne tolererait

guère plus nos écoles que les bureaux de ces cités." Potvin estimated that forty-two schools in sixteen municipalities would be jeopardized by this proposed amendment.[5] Langevin then undertook a thorough study of the proposed Coldwell amendments and explained his view of them to Joseph Bernier, M.L.A. One amendment changed the definition of a bilingual school to mean that each class had to have ten French-speaking children in it before the school could employ a bilingual curriculum. Moreover, the amendment had the effect of restricting religious instruction unauthorized by clause 212 of the school act. Another amendment would make it more difficult to remove English-speaking teachers who knew little French but had been granted bilingual certification by the Department of Education. Henceforth, undesirables in certain schools could not be removed even though they were "une cause de scandale pour les enfants, mais qui sont aptes à former selon les désirs fanatiques de M. Coldwell la génération qui grandit." Still another amendment would restrict the presence of priests and visitors in public schools. The last amendment, which Langevin found offensive, was the one creating rural municipalities.[6]

He understood the tenor of the whole as an attempt to restrict Catholic schools still further, a situation that evinced "un mauvais vouloir qui me stupifie."[7]

The Manitoba Free Press wanted to know what the archbishop wanted, whether the same school rights as those held by Catholics in the other two prairie provinces were his goal. Langevin's answer was to ask the Free Press whether it would accept such a solution for Manitoba.[8] At a meeting in St. Boniface, on March 18, Robert Rogers presented Langevin with a document containing three amendments to the school act that he claimed the provincial cabinet had unanimously accepted. There were three other persons present at the meeting, Joseph Bernier, Edward O'Connor, and Rev. T. Paré. Bernier counselled Langevin to append his signature to the document - Roblin had already initialled it. O'Connor conceded that certain advantages might flow from the amendments but added little more to the discussion. Langevin declared that "ce n'était pas là un règlement final, et que nul catholique ne pouvait dire qu'il est satisfait si ces clauses deviennent loi et obtiennent un résultat" and appended his signature. Rogers did not think that any principle was at stake; one simply had to take advantage of the situation.[9]

With unconcealed admiration, Langevin called Rogers "un vrai diable" and "un politicien roué et peu scrupuleux" for getting Roblin's cabinet, with one exception, to agree to an amendment of the school law. O'Connor thought it was a step forward in getting Winnipeg's Catholic schools rented to the public school board but Langevin was uncertain because the separation clause would remain: "la porte est entrouverte mais elle n'est plus fermée." Coldwell had also given assurances that he would remove all the sections the archbishop found objectionable and propose only those three amendments consented to by Roblin and Langevin.[10] Both the premier and the archbishop understood that the amendments were not a final solution, and the delegate was informed of the kind of understanding reached by both parties to the agreement.[11] Rogers left Winnipeg and met Stagni in Ottawa where he emphasized the advantages that would flow from the amendments; the delegate remained unconvinced but he nevertheless encouraged Langevin to get whatever good would come of any change in the law.[12]

While Mgr. Charlebois bombarded Ottawa with a series of petitions and protests over annexation, the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen held a series of meetings in Winnipeg to study the Coldwell amendments before they were introduced in the legislature.[13] The federation, acting in concert with the archbishop, concluded that the amendments "accordaient trop peu"; clause 220, which prevented children from being separated during school hours, was the stumbling block that had to be removed. The federation's solicitor, Edward O'Connor, was directed to negotiate with the premier to devise an amendment to the clause or have it removed altogether. Langevin compared the 1912 proceedings with those of 1896, in that negotiations were carried on at the local level after the federal government had refused to act. To have a successful outcome to the present round of talks, Catholics had to remain united while the political parties resolved the issue.[14]

Langevin met Roblin and requested the removal of clause 220 as the chief obstacle to freedom from double taxation in urban centres.

What the archbishop wanted was the same school system in Manitoba as those in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Horace Chevrier, former Liberal M.L.A., had advised the archbishop that his party might be willing to discuss such a proposal with the Conservatives. Roblin however could not consent to any parley with the Liberals; a dozen of his own followers would resign if the separate school issue were raised; the whole enterprise was a Liberal trap. He also indicated that the Coldwell amendments would not have to be introduced into the provincial House until after the legal transfer of the Keewatin territory to Manitoba's jurisdiction had been completed and that the federal government would withhold proclamation as long as Roblin desired. But even if clause 220 were repealed, Langevin thought, Winnipeg's Catholic schools would still be administered by a Protestant board of trustees and would receive only partial recompense for the taxes Catholics were now paying. It certainly was not much.[15] "Il faut bien essayer comme en 1897-98 de sauver quelque chose du naufrage!" Langevin wrote Bégin.[16] But after twenty-two years it was the first compensation granted Catholics in "mixed" centres. Langevin rejoiced that there was an "entente" between the apostolic delegate and the archbishops of Canada: "Le grand point est que j'ai réussi à grouper nos catholiques et je ne suis pas seul! Quelle douce consolation et quelle force!"[17] Langevin was pleased as the old ultramontane solidarity again emerged to unify the Catholic hierarchy however tenuously.

Two final changes in the proposed amendments finally led the archbishop to believe that a breakthrough had been achieved:

> J'ai apprové ... modifications qui portent sur deux points importants
>
> 1. Le nombre des enfants requis pour faire accepter une école, ou même une classe (a school room), dans les centres mixtes, est reduit de 40 a 25: c'est un avantage ....
>
> 2. La clause 200 du soldisant règlement Laurier-Greenway défendant ... les enfants d'après les dénominations religieuses est rappelée indirectement par un promis ajouter aux dites clauses ' "Nothing in etc."[18]

The modifications were made "à ma grande joie," Langevin wrote Colonel Audet.[19] And to Stagni he declared: "Les partisans de Roblin vont voter les nouveau amendments scolaires, et les vilains amendements Coldwell qui ont déjà fait tout de mal, vont être supprimés."[20]

Before the amendments to the school act were presented to the House, Langevin was most anxious to know whether the clause that allowed the mergers of school districts and trustees had been excised from the bill.[21] On April 2, the Coldwell amendments were introduced:

> (r) The word "school" whereever it occurs in this Act shall mean and include any and every school building, school room or department in a school building owned by a public school district, presided over by a teacher or teachers;
>
> (s) It shall be the duty of every public school board in this Province to provide school accommodation according to the requirements of "The Public Schools Act", when so requested by the parents or guardians of children of school age under "The Public Schools Act";
>
> (t) Section 218, chapter 143, Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1902, was intended to mean and does mean a teacher for the children of the petitioners and of the same religious denomination as the petitioners.[22]

On receiving a verbal report of the contents of the bill, Langevin dashed off a note to the premier:

> I hear just now that the reduction of 40 to 25 children, and the proviso declaring that the proposed clauses will not be opposed or contradicted by any other clause in the act, will not be carried on! I hope it is not true, because otherwise the members of our "Catholic Committee" would protest, and I will approve them. I send you M. Bernier.[23]

There was some modification of the centralization clause also in the bill, but Langevin did not allude to it.[24] The Coldwell amendments were approved within four days, along with the bill entending the boundaries of the province.[25] Langevin wrote nothing more about the bills while they were before the legislature.

Failure of Implementation

Langevin wanted a man in Rome while he negotiated with the provincial and federal governments. While he considered Mgr. Charlebois a likely candidate for this post, the bishop evinced some hesitancy and intimated that Mgr. Mathieu of Regina was a likelier representative.[26] Charlebois wanted concerted action by the Canadian Catholic hierarchy on the results of the school question, but the apostolic delegate requested him to wait until May and test the reaction of his confreres in the west at their next episcopal meeting.[27] There was continuing friction between English and French Catholics over the school question and Stagni requested them to cease their public disputes.[28] It was a period of indecision and hesitancy until a committee of Catholic priests and laymen met Coldwell on April 24. They accepted Coldwell's assurance to meet with trustees of the Winnipeg public school board "dans un mois."[29] Langevin felt that

> le Gouvernement local a interpreté timidement la loi scolaire et on ne sait à quoi il va aboutir ... [and] cela ne justifie pas l'abandon des droits scolaires du Keewatin par les Bleus à Ottawa'. ... Sous Laurier il faut protéger la minorité à Ottawa: Sous Borden il faut la laisser à la merci des conservateurs du Manitoba dont le chef est bien disposé, mais dont la majorité a juré de ne donner ni écoles séparées, ni les taxes scolaires aux catholiques. Voila la politique! Il peut se faire, toutefois, que l'on arrive à faire louer nos maisons d'écoles et à faire payer nos maîtres à Winnipeg et à Brandon.[30]

In June Regulation 17 based on the Merchant Report was published in Ontario and placed a further strain on French-English relations in Canada by limiting the amount of French instruction in Ontario's schools.[31] In Manitoba nothing more was heard about meetings between the Minister of Education and the Winnipeg school board, but Roblin assured Langevin that the whole project would be a "finished chapter" before schools opened in the fall. The premier had taken the precaution not to make the Coldwell amendments effective before the summer holidays were over, "not to appear to force things," he advised Langevin.[32] That same month Roblin was honoured with a British knighthood and Langevin praised him for his "blameless life" in acquiring this signal honour.[33]

The archbishop travelled east to attend the "Premier Congrès de Langue Française au Canada", on June 24-30, 1912. In the welcoming address Mgr. Bégin asserted the indissoluable alliance between the French language and the Christian faith:

> Depuis 1608 jusqu'à 1912 cette oeuvre de civilization française et catholique a passée par toutes les vicissitudes de notre évolution historique, elle a subi les retards et elle profite des bienfaits de l'épreuve. Mais toujours elle a gardé le double caractère qui constitue son originalité propre, elle n'a jamais cesser d'associer au culte de la foi romaine celui du parler des anciens.[34]

Mgr. Stagni complimented the French on their language: "c'est la langue du plus grand nombre des apôtres de ces siècles dernières," and for their continuing fidelity to the Roman Catholic church: "puisse cette fidelité au Saint Siège être pour toujours la plus grande gloire de la race canadienne-française."[35] Langevin was an honorary president of this gathering of Canadiens in recognition of the place he held in their esteem. At the congress, Langevin met with Robert

Rogers, who urged the Catholic committee to approach the Winnipeg board directly without waiting for Coldwell's intervention, but Langevin decided to hold to the agreement with Roblin to wait until the education minister had finished his task.[36]

On August 6, the Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen passed a resolution warding off an unnamed intruder from Ottawa and listed the bona fide representatives of their association, placing Langevin at its head.[37] The apostolic delegate became alarmed when the amendments were not implemented after school started in September and asked what could be done in Ottawa.[38] Langevin learned from Roblin that Coldwell was still negotiating with the trustees, trying to work out an agreement similar to the New Brunswick compromise. Coldwell was apparently ready to resign rather than be implicated in another fiasco.[39] Nevertheless, when Roblin met Coldwell in Brandon, the latter confessed he had not met with the trustees during the summer vacations. When they finally met in September, Coldwell explained that the school law authorized the board to accept Catholic schools but did not oblige them to do so. Langevin had to leave St. Boniface again to attend a meeting of the Canadian archbishops but before departing warned Roblin that Rev. Cherrier would resign from the Advisory Board if the bilingual system in Manitoba was abolished as a result of the legislative enactments encouraging centralization. Loathe to depart on a sour note, he granted that Roblin was "personally loyal."[40]

Charlebois missed Langevin in St. Boniface while on his way to Rome for his ad limina visit, and proceeded without instructions. In Ottawa, Charlebois learned that Rogers intended to blame Langevin if the ensuing negotiations between Coldwell and the Winnipeg trustees failed.[41] Rogers had wanted to conduct negotiations but Langevin had opposed him because Coldwell had also wanted to try his hand. If Rogers had been in charge and failed, Coldwell would have washed his hands of the whole affair, Langevin felt; since Coldwell was in full control, he alone was responsible if they failed.[42] On October 25, Attorney-General Colin Campbell informed the archbishop that negotiations had failed.[43]

A post-mortem was held three days later between Catholic clergy and laymen. It was revealed that a secret vote along party lines had negatived any concession for Catholic schools in Winnipeg. A further resolution of the trustees asserted that they would not hear any Catholic delegation. After a lengthy discussion, the assembled clergymen and laymen decided as a first step to meet with Coldwell and then see the Winnipeg school board. Other courses of action open to them included campaigning for selected persons to be elected to the school board and influencing incumbents presently on the board. It became evident also that they would have to get clause 220 repealed by the legislature. A new committee was struck to implement the resolutions.[44]

Langevin lashed out at "le règlement bâtard et funeste Laurier-Greenway," which had previously been approved by Merry del Val and Bruchési and was now confirmed by Monk and Borden. He complained bitterly that the next session of the legislature did not intend to amend the school act. Ottawa was the primary villain: "J'ai fait savoir à M. Monk et à M. Doherty, et par eux, à leurs collegues que M. Roblin ne me promettait tout!" To Bourassa the archbishop could report only one concession by the Advisory Board: It had agreed not to proceed with changes in examining for teaching licenses that would have practically eliminated French.[45] With the demise of the latest round of critical negotiations, Langevin circulated a letter to the Canadian Catholic hierarchy explaining that the Coldwell amendments might have had beneficial results had they been accepted by the Winnipeg board. Since the board refused, the provincial government was not going to force them to comply with the intent of the law. Langevin asked for the hierarchy's moral support in the future.[46] The apostolic delegate sent a sympathetic letter castigating political parties for their shoddy treatment of Manitoba's Catholics.[47] Langevin spoke vaguely of approaching the pope because of the increasing control exercised by the state in education.[48]

Before leaving Canada for Rome, Mgr. Charlebois had left for Langevin's perusal a petition drawn up by Senator Landry that would be sent to the federal government. Bourassa had advised against using it: "le parlement fédéral ne pourrait plus nous rendre nos droits," was his comment.[49] In Rome Charlebois was to inquire about the new diocese of Calgary, which was recently formed out of the southern portion of the former St. Albert diocese in Alberta and about Archbishop Langevin's auxiliary for St. Boniface. There was a possibility the federal Liberal party would still aid Langevin but Langevin felt pressure would have to come from Rome, if past experience was any guide.[50] Mgr. Bégin was also leaving shortly for Europe, and while Langevin mentioned again that he wanted Mgr. Beliveau as his auxiliary for St. Boniface, he did not urge Bégin to use his influence to get the Canadian Liberals to resurrect the Manitoba school question.[51]

Mgr. Beliveau was made Archbishop Langevin's auxiliary with right of succession in 1913.

A Last Resort: The Manitoba Legislature

If the provincial legislature was the last resort, then the only hope of success was to get the two parties to agree on a common course of action, Langevin wrote Stagni. The Federation of Catholic Laymen had prepared a memoir to present to the Winnipeg board, but did not expect anything concrete to result from it. The Federation hoped to prepare the public for any accommodation that might be made during the 1913 sitting of the legislature. Coldwell would also be approached, but everything would be held in abeyance until Roblin returned from England.[52] Charlebois wrote from Rome that the Canadian bishops were generally under a cloud at the Vatican for not working together with the apostolic delegate. It was stated in no uncertain terms, he learned, that they would have a more sympathetic hearing if they would work harmoniously in Canada. Having received an audience with the pope, Charlebois was also returning to his Keewatin diocese.[53]

When Premier Roblin and his entourage passed through Ottawa, the apostolic delegate called the Minister of Justice, Charles Doherty, to his office where he insisted that the minister use his influence with the Manitobans on behalf of the Catholic minority.[54] Robert Rogers, now Minister of Public Works in the Borden government, went to Winnipeg where he studied the memoir of the Catholic federation with members of the Winnipeg public school board; he subsequently reported to Doherty that the board seemed well disposed. The Winnipeg board, however, had given the memoir to its solicitor for a legal interpretation, which would be aired at the next meeting. "Mr. Doherty repeated that he had put the matter very strongly to Mr. Rogers and had told him that his friends in Manitoba must make some return for what they have received from the Federal Government."[55]

In Winnipeg, Langevin invited both T.C. Norris, leader of the opposition, and Premier Roblin to meet with him to determine whether these two leading politicians could not arrange a mutual understanding on the school question.[56] Langevin met with Roblin first in the presence of three clergymen of his archdiocese. The premier asserted that he was personally willing to introduce separate school legislation but would be unable to convince eight or nine of his "partisans" to follow him. However, should T.C. Norris support him he would willingly modify the law and bring it in line with that in Alberta and Saskatchewan.[57] Norris came the next day and in the presence of the same three clergymen agreed to meet with Roblin. According to the archbishop, Norris also considered the Alberta-Saskatchewan separate school system an acceptable minimum for Manitoba. This show of cooperation convinced Langevin completely: "je crois que c'est aussi un homme honorable et disposé à nous aider."[58] A meeting was arranged for January 25, 1913 between the principals but the archbishop excused himself to make a round of pastoral visits. When he met the premier again on January 29, Roblin unfolded another history of failure. Without mentioning whether the meeting with Norris actually transpired, he declared that four of his cabinet ministers, including Coldwell, would resign as soon as any bill restoring separate schools was introduced. The Liberals had intimated that the premier could introduce a private member's bill but this the premier brushed aside claiming it was a political trap. "Encore une déception!" Langevin cried, "ce n'est pas la premier depuis 18 ans!" Nevertheless, the federation would try and see the Winnipeg board again, with little hope.[59] In Ottawa, Doherty pressured Rogers, who telegraphed Roblin to get negotiations started again with the Winnipeg school board. Stagni counselled Langevin to get a firm yes or no from the Winnipeg board, without delay, in response to the Catholic federation's latest petition before approaching the provincial government once again. The merry-go-round was fraying everyone's nerves.[60]

Charlebois returned from Rome in March 1913, feeling that he had accomplished relatively little on behalf of Catholic schools in Manitoba. In April the Catholic hierarchy of Quebec was rumoured to intervene on behalf of the French-speaking population in Ontario, fearing that French bilingual separate schools would be lost with the same consequences as in Manitoba.[61] A papal bull published in St. Boniface archdiocese proclaimed the division of St. Albert diocese into the archdiocese of Edmonton and the diocese of Calgary.[62] With Mgr. Legal elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Edmonton, Langevin became apprehensive that the diocese of Calgary would pass to an English prelate. His apprehension was confirmed by a Manitoba Free Press article that claimed that Mgr. Sbaretti had had Mgr. McNally named Bishop of Calgary.[63] It was the break that Langevin had expected and feared for many years. Friction between the French archbishops and the English "intruder" developed very soon after

McNally took possession of his see.[64]

Joseph Bernier approached Archbishop Langevin on April 18, 1913, to sound out his objection, if any, should Bernier accept the position of provincial secretary. Some people would see Bernier's acceptance of the post as an acknowledgement that the Coldwell amendments were a satisfactory compromise on the school difficulties, Langevin informed Roblin. Lest any erroneous assumptions be made about this appointment, the archbishop wanted the record kept straight on four points: the Coldwell amendments "amount to nothing to relieve our Catholic people of Winnipeg and Brandon from the double school tax"; Catholics would be miffed since Bernier would join the cabinet even though nothing had been done for their relief since Keewatin was added to the province; Bernier would be relatively powerless; and four cabinet ministers threatened to resign if Bernier requested the restoration of separate school rights. Furthermore, if the appointment was considered to be compensation to Manitoba's 80,000 Catholics, Langevin could not endorse it. "Bernier told me that he accepted on your [Roblin's] account and it is also on account of you personally that I did not oppose what I did not approve."[65] With his appointment thus confirmed, Joseph Bernier became the first recognized representative of the French-speaking element in the Manitoba government since 1890.

Bernier became embroiled immediately in the renewed negotiations between the Catholic federation and the Winnipeg public school board. As solicitors for both battled over the millinery regulation, incidental notice was taken of a statement that Roblin recommended to the Winnipeg board. It stated: "We make no conditions whatever; we simply trust to a fair and generous treatment by the School Board of this City when the schools are taken over and become part of the public schools system of this City."[66] The original draft composed by Father Cherrier and members of the federation stated:

> We can only repeat here, that it is the wish of the Roman Catholic petitioners, that the school board should take over our schools in accordance with the prayer of the petition presented on a former occasion which is that you take over our schools and operate them under the public school law of this province.[67]

After examining both drafts Langevin concluded that the Cherrier draft should be sent: "I must tell you [Roblin] frankly that it would commit us too much and too far to send this [Roblin's] letter."[68] It was because the Winnipeg Catholics would be under a Protestant board of education that he refused the premier's draft, Langevin explained to Bernier, and if it made the premier's position somewhat awkward, "Ce n'est certes, pas notre faute."[69] The draft of the actual petition sent read:

> That your board will take over the schools of your petitioners and operate them under the public schools act and subject to the control and management of your board.
>
> That you will employ duly qualified teachers in such schools under the requirements of the public schools act, teaching the same course of studies as in all other elementary public schools of the city and subject to the inspection and supervision of your inspectors and superintendents.
>
> That you will lease upon fair terms of rental the buildings of your petitioners, and maintain them, and that you will accord the representatives of your petitioners a reasonable consideration of this petition.[70]

The federation's document was intended to secure a situation for their schools similar to the ones obtaining in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

To throw oneself at the mercy of the Winnipeg board as Roblin suggested would not achieve this end.[71] Harmonizing Manitoba's educational system with her sister provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, had become a dead issue.

Bourassa vs. Stagni

Mgr. Stagni visited Manitoba in June and for five days was ceremoniously escorted about Winnipeg and its environs.[72] Before leaving Ottawa he had objected to Bourassa's articles in Le Devoir castigating the previous apostolic delegate, Mgr. Sbaretti, for his role during passage of the autonomy acts, and had requested Mgr. Bruchési to speak to Bourassa about the "pénible impression" he had made on the delegate.[73] Another article in Le Devoir entitled "L'Affaire du Keewatin" the delegate considered even more serious than the previous one because it bluntly charged Ottawa politicians, "les ministres d'Ottawa," with imposing silence on the religious authorities in Canada under the pretext that their intervention would have awakened "le fanatisme." Bourassa charged the Catholic hierarchy with docility, which left the Vicar-Apostolic of Keewatin, Mgr. Charlebois, crying in the wilderness. To Stagni it seemed appropriate that Charlebois should speak publicly on behalf of the entire episcopate, and with some justification Stagni remarked to Bruchési "il n'est prescrit nulle part aux évêques de se servir des feuilles publiques pour faire leur devoir."[74] Working as the delegate did behind the scenes was insufficient for Bourassa: the Catholic church had to be seen and heard publicly, and the delegate was responsible if that presence was not publicly evident. When he was in Winnipeg, the delegate performed his official functions as he was expected to do, but there is no evidence he took a direct hand in any negotiations.

Henri Bourassa had also travelled to Western Canada in June and on Langevin's recommendation directed a detailed explanation of his charges in the two previous articles to the delegate on August 6, 1913. He repeated what was evident to all, that the only public voice raised was that of Charlebois:

> La même affirmation a été faite, en ma présence, par l'un des chefs militants du parti conservateur. C'est armés du silence publics des évêques et d'un document signé par trois députés catholiques du Manitoba, dont la supercherie est connue aujourd'hui, que les politiciens conservateurs ont parcouru la province de Québec, l'an dernier, en affirmant que le ministère fédéral avait fait son devoir.[75]

While Bourassa acknowledged that the Catholic hierarchy was in a difficult position vis-à-vis the political powers in Canada, their mode of operation had fostered a greater evil:

> Ce mal, dont les catholiques du Canada souffrent dupuis longtemps, Monseigneur, c'est la défaut d'entente des autorités religieuses sur l'attitude que les catholiques doivent adopter lorsque leurs droits constitutionnels sont en péril. C'est ce défaut qui a permis, dans une large mesure, la spoliation partielle ou totale de nos droits au Manitoba, dans les Territories du Nord-Ouest et au Keewatin.[76]

Because of failing health Langevin travelled to Europe, staying for three months and returning in late October 1913. Before he left, the Catholic federation considered the Halifax school system for Winnipeg but nothing came of the move.[77] Charlebois rallied to Langevin's defence when rumours about the archbishop's unusual silence during the Keewatin affair continued to circulate, even into the late autumn of 1913.[78] Langevin was not disposed to remain silent but "la direction de Délégué et les dispositions trop craintes de certaines archévêques" forestalled decisive action.[79] The archbishop had stayed out of the most recent struggle over schools and still the French Catholic minority had come out second best.

Langevin could not go to the January 1914 meeting of l'Association Canadien Français d'Education d'Ontario and his auxiliary, Beliveau, represented him.[80] Whatever the relationship between the Catholic episcopate in Ontario and the provincial government, Langevin instructed Beliveau that the French stood for the right of parents to teach their children in their native tongue.[81] A report from Ottawa reaching Langevin claimed that certain people were trying to get Rome to apply Leo XIII's encyclical Affari vos to the Ontario school question.[82] Charlebois again prepared petitions to Ottawa against spoliation of Catholic rights in Manitoba.[83]

The 1914 Provincial Election

Long before the 1914 Manitoba election was announced the parties were sparring. At a rally in February Roblin remarked that his party would not re-open the school question whereas Norris said he would apply the school law in all its rigour.[84] The resolutions adopted at the Liberal convention in Winnipeg on March 26-27 promised:

> To maintain unimpaired the integrity of the national school system of this Province (Act of 1897).
>
> To make the adequate teaching of English obligatory in all public schools.
>
> To enact amendments to the present school law to provide a measure of compulsory education .... either by attendance

> at the public schools or by such substitute within the choice of the parents as shall attain this end.
>
> To repeal the Coldwell amendments.[85]

When Norris was asked whether "c'est le devoir du governement de cette province de voir à faire donner un enseignement égal à l'enseignement anglais," he replied, "they [immigrants] could conserve their mother tongue - but had to become thoroughly acquainted with the language of their country."[86] Langevin's response was prompt and categorical:

> Vous avez appris les déclarations categorique du chef du parti libéral, disant qu'il est en faveur de l'école publique neutre, de l'université d'Etat, qui ferait disparaître les collèges, en particulier celui de Saint Boniface, et de l'Ecole obligatoire, et il n'est rien moins que favorable aux écoles bilingues ainsi menacées dans leur existence. Nous ne nous attendions guère à une attitude si adverse aux catholiques, et nous la regrettons profondement pour la paix et la justice, autant que pour l'honneur d'un pays d'où le fanatisme semblait banni.[87]

Premier Roblin met some parishioners of St. Mary's Church in Winnipeg and sounded them out on whether they were willing to rent their school, complete with teachers and pupils, to the Winnipeg board. Langevin did not object but thought the whole project a waste of time. He convoked a meeting of the priests of Winnipeg's parishes who were unsympathetic to Roblin's move but did not obstruct him lest they furnish the government with a pretext for doing nothing.[88] The archbishop was determined to follow a hard line on Catholics' duties towards their schools. He published regulations that made it a grave obligation for parents to support the local Catholic school. Even if parents received the archbishop's permission to send their children to a public school, they were still obliged to pay for the support of the local Catholic school. Priests were empowered to refuse absolution to parents who failed to comply with these regulations.[89]

English Catholic Liberals in Manitoba condemned Langevin's public denigration of their party to the apostolic delegate, who wrote the archbishop to clarify his circular to the clergy and the negotiations with members of St. Mary's Church.[90] After receiving a copy of the circular to the clergy, Stagni was satisfied that the claim of the Manitoba Free Press that every Catholic was obliged to vote Conservative in the next election was completely false, and that in face "c'est la vote juste ... dans la situation actuelle."[91] Langevin privately stated to the delegate that Catholics should not "en conscience et en honneur" vote for Liberal candidates. Nevertheless, English Catholic Liberals had vowed to vote for Norris and his party and declared so before the archbishop. The constant personal attacks of the Free Press on the archbishop were deliberately designed "détacher de ma direction les catholiques de langue anglaise, et d'affaibler la cause catholique en semant la division dans nos rangs."[92] In a larger perspective, events in Ontario, Manitoba, and throughout the west were having a deadly effect on the French in Canada. Quebec was becoming a large reserve: "Que nos ennemis nous fassent comprendre que l'isolement qu'ils projettent pour les nôtres dans Quebec serait la morte."[93]

In Keewatin Charlebois was uncertain who to vote for and asked Langevin for some guidelines. There were three electoral districts formed in the former Keewatin territory that would send representatives to the provincial legislature. As for political parties, "la plupart des gens trouvent que les deux partis ne vallent pas mieux l'un que l'autre. 'L'un est méchant et l'autre n'est pas bon.' - Voilà ce que l'on dit et pense." Because Roblin had not spoken clearly on the issues, as Norris had done, Charlebois was still sceptical about Roblin's true worth.

> Quand il est venu ici avant l'annexation, il m'a formellement promis qu'il allait nous donner, non pas ce qu'on appelle "école separée" mais *l'équivalent*. C'est avec cette promesse qu'il a réussi m'imposer silence dans l'assemblée qu'il est venu tenir ici. Or, on sait ce qu'il a donné en réalité.[94]

The Conservative party campaigned on its record, which was admittedly substantial and included the extension of provincial boundaries. In a circular to the electorate the campaign committee stressed the good government achieved for Manitoba under the Conservatives during the past fifteen years: they emphasized the British connection (in an increasingly multi-ethnic political community); the efficiency of the roads, railways, and telephones; the honesty of the administration; the sound financial position of the province; the sensitivity to the needs of immigrants; the expanded educational facilities; the progressive outlook of the province.[95] By 1914, however, the Liberal party had succeeded in identifying itself as the reform party and the populace became evenly divided in its loyalties; it would cast its ballots for the party most sympathetic to its local or particular interests.[96] Among English-speaking Protestants the bilingual clauses and the Coldwell amendments were considered favourable to Catholic interests and therefore weighed heavily against the Conservatives, even though some members of the Orange Order gave unswerving support to the Roblin administration.[97]

The ballot count on July 10, 1914, showed that it was one of the closest political contests in Manitoba's history. In the enlarged forty-nine member House, Manitobans had elected twenty-five Conservatives to twenty-one Liberals: three Conservatives would be elected later in northern ridings formed from the annexed Keewatin district. Three French-speaking Conservatives were returned in the predominantly French ridings of Iberville, LaVerendrye, and St. Boniface, and the French vote was decisive in two other ridings, including Premier Roblin's own constituency of Dufferin. "The one flaw in the perfect Conservative record of the French was Carillon where T.B. Molloy defeated A. Prefontaine by seven votes out of thirteen hundred."[98] With the closeness of the vote Langevin wrote Charlebois that the three northern ridings had to return Conservatives: it was imperative that Catholics support Roblin.[99] When Norris stated in Le Pas that he wanted one school and one language, English, Charlebois assured Langevin that the French vote was now Conservative.[100]

Langevin was piqued by a statement made by Louis Coderre, Secretary of State, just prior to the Manitoba election, that the Archbishop of St. Boniface was satisfied with the Manitoba school system since Keewatin had been annexed.[101] In a blistering reply Langevin charged the Borden government with doing nothing about the school problem and characterized the Coldwell amendments as stillborn. If the minister persisted in his opinion, the archbishop warned that he would make a public statement to the effect that the Manitoba school situation was precisely the same as it was in 1890.[102] To arouse the archbishop on the day of a provincial election was a gross political miscalculation that had to be rectified immediately, especially since the statement had been made by a Conservative cabinet minister. Coderre mollified the archbishop by praising Premier Roblin's tolerance and generosity towards the Catholic minority and described the school situation as "assez satisfaisante," which would improve if the Coldwell amendments were accepted in good faith. He excused the brief article carried in La Tribune, which Langevin had apparently seen as incorrectly expressing his views, and recommended the longer article in La Patrie as a clearer exposition of his statement.[103] The matter was dropped since Langevin did not carry out his threat.

Death of Archbishop Langevin

As the Guns of August sounded in Europe heralding the end of an era, Langevin lay ill in St. Boniface hospital. With Bernier he discussed the Coldwell amendments, and from his sick-bed urged Charlebois to get the school trustees to rent the La Pas school and pay its teachers.[104] To Charlebois' surprise the trustees agreed to rent the Catholic class while a large school was being built for all the children of Le Pas. Payment of rent would begin January 1, 1915. For Charlebois, it meant acceptance of the Coldwell amendments and renunciation of separate school rights.[105] When presented with these alternatives Langevin did not know how to counsel his suffragan other than to advise caution.[106] On December 26, Charlebois reported that his classroom was rented, a Catholic bilingual teacher had been hired, and a Catholic had been elected to the school board; classes would begin on January 4, 1915.[107]

In failing health, Archbishop Langevin left for San Antonio, Texas, where he stayed for five months. He took scant notice of the 1915 sitting of the Manitoba legislature, venturing a single remark in March to Roblin that the Coldwell amendments had brought no relief to "our Free schools."[108] Towards the end of the session the Conservative government was charged in the legislature with irregularities in contracting for the construction of the new parliament buildings. A royal commission was appointed to study the matter and the house adjourned. Langevin returned to St. Boniface in April and, perceiving the imminent possibility of a change in government, felt that "Il faudrait s'attendre à la persecution et au retour des scolaires de misère."[109]

In Le Pas, the tide of events had changed Charlebois' mind in allowing Catholic children to attend the Protestant public school and he advised the school trustees of his decision. He was confirmed in his decision by a warning from Langevin of what to expect if a Norris government was formed:

> M. Norris a promis de rappler les amendments Caldwell [sic]; ce ne point accorder d'allocation aux maîtres portant un costume religieux; de diminuer ou de détruire les écoles bilingues; ce qui serait un désastre pour 50 à 52 paroisses catholiques.[110]

When the findings of the royal commission were published early in May, the Conservative government was blamed for misuse of funds and although the premier was not personally involved, he resigned. Langevin wrote him:

> I need not tell you how I feel sorry for your resignation, but, I suppose, extraordinary circumstances that did not depend on your will forced you to become a victim.
>
> You have always been loyal to me, and this souvenir I keep in my heart as a consolation, and my happiness.

> You never made a promise that you did not fulfill. Why did not all our fellow-citizens have the same broadness of mind and the same good will?[111]

Langevin closed the letter by referring to his "sincere affection" for Roblin.

The Liberal party was called to form the government when the cabinet resigned and Langevin wondered whether the Norris government would "faire la guerre" on him.[112] Before he could find out, the archbishop left for Montreal, where he died on June 15, 1915. As a final official act he had signed an episcopal letter to Pope Benedict XV protesting Ontario's Regulation 17.[113]

In a short obituary the Toronto Globe credited the archbishop with the collapse of the Roblin government by insisting on the Coldwell amendments. While details of the building scandal filled the editorial columns of the Globe, it was Langevin who was the real culprit. "Mgr. Langevin was held responsible for the introduction of the French-Canadian element in the Roblin Cabinet and the consequent breach between the ex-Premier and his Orange supporters." By innuendo, the Globe damned the archbishop for playing politics and damned the "ex-Premier" for his complicity. The most it could say for Langevin was that "his influence survived that settlement effected by Sir Wilfrid Laurier."[114] Montreal's Le Nationaliste, in a hypocritical vein, castigated politicians for not having Langevin's steadfast qualities. Some Quebec politicians had criticized the archbishop's "erreurs de tactique" but he nevertheless had won their "respect et amour." Where the politicians temporized, the archbishop acted.[115]

Le Devoir eulogized Langevin: "Ce fut un évêque illustre, l'un de ceux dont le nom brillera à côté des plus grands dont s'honore l'Eglise du Canada; ce fut un fier citoyen et notre race n'a pas connu de plus noble fils."[116] The archbishop had fought for the French language and the Catholic faith. He refused to accept the frontiers of Quebec as the limit beyond which Canadiens dare not go. He had secured a place among Quebec's heroes and martyrs

> car, s'il n'a pas sacrifié son sang sur le champ de bataille ou l'échafaud, il l'a épuisé goute-à-goute en des combats aussi douloureux - qui ont donné leur vie pour la conservation de nos traditions et de nos croyances, de notre langue et de nos droits.[117]

On his deathbed, his last words were addressed to Archbishop Bruchési: "remember to fight for that cause for which I devoted my life," referring to the educational rights of the Catholic minority in Manitoba.[118]

On the day that funeral services were conducted in Montreal, the Manitoba Free Press devoted the larger portion of its editorial page to the "Centenary of Waterloo."[119] In the obituary notice on June 16, the Free Press levelled its last charge: the archbishop "always remained an opponent of compromise and a believer in the efficiency of political action which would unite the Catholic voters in one solid mass." But the Free Press chose not to be entirely negative and recognized the archbishop as a man "of broad sympathies and enquiring mind; he took a personal interest in a multitude of societies and literary works." And speaking from experience it continued:

> Nothing roused him so much as the insinuations sometimes levelled at the loyalty of French or Catholics. It was then that he would be moved to make those sarcastic retorts which very often did not tend to mend matters. But there were none who ever crossed a lance with him

> who will not recognize his sterling worth and his right to a foremost place in Manitoban history.[120]

Aftermath

Archbishop Langevin's auxiliary, Mgr. Beliveau, became the Archbishop of St. Boniface. At the same time as Beliveau was officially nominated in December 1915, Mgr. Sinnot became the first Archbishop of Winnipeg.[121] Early in 1916 the Manitoba Liberal government repealed the Coldwell amendments and the bilingual clause, and enacted a compulsory school attendance law.[122] On February 25, 1916, Franco-Manitobans formed l'Association d'Education des Canadiens-Français de Manitoba, "whose founding was the most important single milestone in the history of the French Catholics in Manitoba." The consensus that emerged from this founding meeting was that after twenty-five years' experience:

1. they had no allies, whether within or without political parties,
2. the survival of the French fact in Manitoba depended on Franco-Manitobans themselves,
3. the minority, in order to survive could no longer afford the luxury of political dissent.[123]

On January 5, 1921, the Manitoba Free Press editorialized "Archbishop Beliveau Re-opens The School Question."[124]

Summary

Langevin's reactions to the first draft of the Coldwell amendments were entirely negative. Stagni was convinced that Catholics had been deceived and he released the archbishops of Canada to speak out openly against "cette injustice criant." The amendments unified the delegate with the archbishops and cemented French-Irish factions against the Conservatives in Manitoba and Ottawa. Roblin had to convince Langevin that the amendments would be modified, and the archbishop initialled the document containing them on the basis of that promise. On March 31 Langevin reported to Stagni that a breakthrough had been achieved: the provincial government had apparently agreed to include a clause that would allow Catholic children to be educated in their own schools. When the amendments were introduced on April 2, only the original three sections previously agreed to appeared. Langevin was appalled; he felt deceived again.

Coldwell's antipathy towards bilingual education and his initial draft of amendments earned him the unkind sobriquet "fanatique" from the archbishop. Yet Coldwell was designated to negotiate on the basis of the amendments with the Winnipeg school board to obtain the provincial concessions. He carried out his task perfunctorily - he did not meet with the board throughout the summer of 1912 - and on October 25 reported that negotiations had failed. The Manitoba government could not deliver what the Ottawa government had promised.

Without much enthusiasm and in declining health, Langevin elicited agreements from Norris and Roblin to have the Alberta-Saskatchewan system of education implemented in Manitoba. Roblin later retracted his promise, declaring that Coldwell and several other cabinet ministers would resign if separate school legislation were introduced. The only gesture made towards French Canadians was to bring Joseph Bernier into the cabinet.

As it became increasingly evident that Manitoba's Catholics would gain nothing, Bourassa charged federal politicians with imposing silence on the religious authorities in Canada. He acknowledged the Catholic hierarchy as the leader in Catholic education in Canada, yet it had permitted spoliation of constitutional rights in Manitoba, the Northwest Territories, and Keewatin. It was clearly no match for politicians, Liberal or Conservative, who manipulated the political process to maintain themselves in power at the expense of French Catholics outside Quebec. Langevin also noted that the direction of events would isolate the French in Quebec, and that the Canadian Catholic hierarchy had played an important part in this process.

In the 1914 provincial election Roblin would not have separate schools debated although the Liberals gained in popular support for their policy of interpreting the school law rigorously and repealing the Coldwell amendments. The Conservatives won with the crucial assistance of the French vote in several constituencies. Nevertheless, Roblin was forced to resign the next year because of his party's involvement in the parliament building scandal. Langevin's illness caused him to convalesce outside Canada removing him from the Manitoba scene. He died in Montreal in June, 1915.

1. Charlebois papers, LB 6A, Charlebois to Stangl, March 11, 1912.

2. Langevin papers, DA, Stagni to Langevin, March 12, 1912.

3. Ibid., Prud'homme to My dear Lord Bishop, March 15, 1912.

4. Ibid., QS 1912, Haccault to Monsieur le Président de l'Assemblée catholique de Winnipeg, March 11, 1912.

5. Ibid., QS 1912, Potvin to Langevin, March 11, 1912.

6. Ibid., QS 1912, Langevin to Bernier, March 12, 1912.

7. Ibid., QS 1912, same to same, March 15, 1912. Bill 68, An act to amend "The Public Schools Act," 1912.

8. Ibid., QS 1912, Langevin to the Editor of the Free Press, March 15, 1912.

9. Ibid., QS 1912, "Des Faits," March 20, 1912 and Ibid., "Exhibit A," [n.d.], 1916.

10. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Monk, March 22, 1912.

11. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Stagni, March 22, 1912.

12. Ibid., DA, Stagni to Langevin, March 26, 1912.

13. Charlebois papers, LB 15, Charlebois to the Senate and Governor General in Council, March 23, 1912, and ibid., "Petition to the Governor General in Council," March 26, 1912 and ibid., Charlebois to Landry, March 26, 1912.

14. Langevin papers, DA, Langevin to Stagni, March 26, 1912.

15. Ibid., QS 1912, Document Sécrèt, March 27, 1912.

16. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Bégin, March 28, 1912. Rev. Gonthier was now Prior of the Dominican Monastery in St. Hyacynthe, Quebec. Langevin kept him informed from time to time on the school question: renting Catholic schools to the Winnipeg public school board was acceptable, he wrote on March 28 (Ibid., Langevin to Gonthier, March 28, 1912).

17. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Bernard, March 31, 1912. Langevin's underlining.

18. Ibid. Worded as in the original.

19. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Audet, March 31, 1912.

20. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Stagni, March 31, 1912.

21. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Bernier, April 1, 1912.

22. Statutes of Manitoba, 1912, 2 Geo. V, Cap. 65, An Act to amend "The Public Schools Act."

23. Langevin papers, MCPM, Langevin to Roblin, April 2, 1912.

24. Statutes of Manitoba, 1912, 2 Geo. V, Cap. 65, s.21.

25. Statutes of Manitoba, 1912, 2 Geo. V, Cap. 6, An Act to provide for the Further Extension of the Boundaries of the Province of Manitoba.

26. Charlebois papers, BL 6B, Charlebois to Mathieu, April 12, 1912.

27. Langevin papers, DA, Stagni to Charlebois, April 5, 1912.

28. Ibid., DA, Stagni to Langevin, April 12, 1912. The London, Ontario Catholic Record took exception to an article about schools in Les Cloches: Stagni found an article entitled "Measure of Justice" in the Catholic Register, "infiniment regrettable" (ibid).

29. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Roblin, April 13, 1912 and ibid., LB 16, Langevin to Caron (Brandon), April 24, 1912.

30. Ibid., LB 15, Langevin to Dozois (Rome), April 6, 1912.

31. Ibid., QS 1912, "L'Association D'Education et La Crise Actuelle De L'Enseignement Bilingue Dans Ontario."

32. Ibid., MCPM, Roblin to Langevin, June 13, 1912.

33. Ibid., MCPM, Langevin to Roblin, June 15, 1912.

34. Carrière file, "Premier Congrès de Langue Française au Canada 24-30 juin, 1912."

35. Ibid.

36. Langevin papers, LB 16, Langevin to Rogers, July 29, 1912.

37. Ibid., QS 1912, "Manitoba Federation of Catholic Laymen," August 6, 1912.

38. Ibid., DA, Stagni to Langevin, September 10, 1912.

39. Ibid., LB 16, Langevin to Stagni, September 13, 1912.

40. Ibid., LB 16, Langevin to Roblin, September 26, 1916.

41. Charlebois papers, LB 8, Charlebois to Langevin, October 13, 1912.

42. Carrière File, Langevin to Charlebois, October 19, 1912.

43. Langevin papers, LB 16, Langevin to Stagni, October 26, 1912.

44. *Ibid.*, QS 1912. "Minutes of a meeting between Archbishop Langevin and the Manitoba Catholic Federation," October 28, 1912.

45. *Ibid.*, LB 16, Langevin to Bourassa, October 28, 1912.

46. *Ibid.*, QS 1912, Langevin Aux Vénérables Archevêques et Evêques du Canada, November 10, 1912.

47. *Ibid.*, DA, Stagni to Langevin, November 1, 1912.

48. *Ibid.*, LB 16, Langevin to Lindsay, November 17, 1912.

49. Charlebois papers, Charlebois to Langevin (from Rome), November 16, 1912.

50. Langevin papers, LB 16, Langevin to Lindsay, November 17, 1912.

51. *Ibid.*, LB 16, Langevin to Bégin, November 25, 1912.

52. *Ibid.*, LB 16, Langevin to Stagni, December 3, 1912.

53. Charlebois papers, LB 8, Charlebois to Langevin, December 8, 1912.

54. Langevin papers, DA, Stagni to Doherty, December 19, 1912.

55. *Ibid.*, DA, "Compte-rendu u'une entrevue avec l'hon. M. Doherty," Janaury 12, 1913.

56. *Ibid.*, LB 16, Langevin to Roblin, January 14, 1913 and *ibid.*, LB 16, Langevin to Norris, January 14, 1913.

57. *Ibid.*, LB 16, Langevin to Stagni, January 21, 1913.

58. *Ibid.*, LB 16, Langevin to Stagni, January 22, 1913.

59. *Ibid.*, LB 17, Langevin to Stagni, January 29, 1913.

60. *Ibid.*, DA, Stagni to Langevin, February 8, 1913.

61. *Ibid.*, OS 1913-14, Villeneuve to Langevin, April 18, 1913.

62. *Ibid.*, DA, Langevin to Stagni, February 15, 1913.

63. *Ibid.*, LB 17, Langevin to Perrier (Superior of the Canadian College, Rome), May 12, 1913.

64. *Ibid.*, LB 17, Langevin to Mathieu, August 4, 1913 and Legal papers, Legal to Beck, LB 1913-14, October 1, 1913. Archbishop Legal had proposed a bilingual Benedictine College for Calgary which Mgr. McNally cancelled.

65. *Ibid.*, MCPM, Langevin to Roblin, April 19, 1913.

66. *Ibid.*, QS 1913-41, [...] to R.H. Smith [n.d.], 1913.

67. *Ibid.*, QS 1913-14, [...] to R.H. Smith, June 2, 1913.

68. *Ibid.*, LB 17, Langevin to Roblin, July 1, 1913.

69. *Ibid.*, LB 17, Langevin to Bernier, July 1, 1913.

70. "Petition of the Winnipeg Roman Catholics to the School Board of that City," *The Manitoba School Question* (Winnipeg: West Canada Publishing Company, 1913), 11.

71. *Ibid.*

72. Langevin papers, DA, "Programme, June 18-22," 1913.

73. *Ibid.*, DA, Stagni to Bruchési, June 9, 1913.

74. *Ibid.*, DA, same to same, June 12, 1913.

75. *Ibid.*, QS 1913-14, Bourassa to Langevin, August 8, 1913.

76. *Ibid.*

77. *Ibid.*, QS 1913-14, Troy to Langevin, July 29, 1913.

78. Charlebois papers, LB 8, Charlebois to Langevin, November 10, 1913.

79. Langevin papers, LB 17, Langevin to Charlebois, November 24, 1913.

80. *Ibid.*, LB 18, Langevin to Latulippe, December 27, 1913.

81. Carrière file, Langevin to Beliveau, January 8, 1914.

82. Charlebois papers, LB 8, Charlebois to Langevin, January 15, 1914.

83. *Ibid.*, LB 15, Charlebois to Landry, January 25, 1914.

84. Langevin papers, QS 1913-14, Cherrier to Langevin, February 6, 1914.

85. *Ibid.*, QS 1913-14, "Platform of Manitoba Liberals, 1914." Worded as in the original.

86. Quoted in Turenne, *op. cit.*, 86.

87. Quoted in Ibid., 90.

88. Langevin papers, LB 18, Langevin to Stagni, April 4, 1914.

89. Ibid., QS 1913-14, "Règlements pour les écoles catholiques de Kenora, Norman and Keewatin."

90. Ibid., DA, [...] to the Papal Legation, March 19, 1914, and Ibid., Stagni to Langevin, March 30, 1914.

91. Ibid., DA, Stagni to Langevin, April 9, 1914.

92. Ibid., DA, Langevin to Stagni, April 4, 1914.

93. Ibid., LB 18, Langevin to Pelletier, June 15, 1914.

94. Charlebois papers, LB 8, Charlebois to Langevin, May 7, 1914.

95. Ross, op. cit., 154-9.

96. Turenne, op. cit., 96.

97. Ross, op. cit., 152-3.

98. Ibid., 94.

99. Langevin papers, LB 18, Langevin to Corbeil, July 13, 1914.

100. Charlebois papers, LB 8, Charlebois to Langevin, July 24, 1914.

101. Langevin papers, DA, Stagni to Langevin, July 12, 1914.

102. Ibid., QS 1913-14, Langevin to Coderre, July 19, 1914.

103. Ibid., QS 1913-14, Coderre to Langevin, July 25, 1914.

104. Ibid., LB 19, Langevin to Charlebois, October 22, 1914.

105. Charlebois papers, LB 8, Charlebois to Langevin, November 16, 1914.

106. Langevin papers, LB 19, Langevin to Charlebois, November 24, 1914.

107. Charlebois papers, LB 8, Charlebois to Langevin, December 26, 1914.

108. Langevin papers, MCPM, Langevin to Roblin, March 5, 1915.

109. Ibid., LB 19, Langevin to Rev. Sr. Berthiaume, April 8, 1915.

110. Charlebois papers, LB 15, Charlebois to Potvin, April 19, 1916. Langevin's underlining.

111. Langevin papers, MCPM, Langevin to Roblin, May 12, 1915.

112. Ibid., LB 19, Langevin to Joyel, May 20, 1915.

113. Charlebois papers, LB 6A, "A Sa Saintetė Benoit XV," Juin 1915.

114. The Globe, June 1915.

115. Le Nationaliste, 20 Juin, 1915.

116. Le Devoir, 15 Juin, 1915.

117. Ibid.

118. Quoted in the Manitoba Free Press, June 15, 1915.

119. Ibid., June 18, 1915.

120. Ibid., June 16, 1915.

121. Langevin papers, Stagni to Beliveau, December 17, 1915.

122. Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, 6 Geo. V.,
Cap. 86, An Act to amend "The Public Schools Act," (vs. Coldwell amendments).
Cap. 88, An Act to repeal Section 258 of "The Public Schools Act," (vs. bilingual education).
Cap. 97, An Act respecting School Attendance, (vs. voluntary attendance).

123. Turenne, op. cit., 102.

124. Manitoba Free Press, January 5, 1921.

CHAPTER IX

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

According to G.F.G. Stanley:

> The French Canadian of the west had to fight against the province for his rights as one of a minority group. He had to rely on the federal authority as a guardian of minority rights....It is on the federal level rather than on the provincial level, that the western French Canadian realizes the most complete expression of his political personality.[1]

Certainly between 1889 and 1899 the French minority in Manitoba had to fight against the Greenway government for its rights. The two succeeding archbishops of St. Boniface, Mgr. Taché, who initiated court action, and Mgr. Langevin, who pressured politicians, led the fight to have the minority's linguistic and religious practices confirmed by law in the province. The use of the French language and Catholic schools were proscribed by legislative enactment in 1890 and recourse was had to the provincial courts, which ruled that Manitoba had legal jurisdiction to mofidy its own school system. The Supreme Court of Canada overruled the provincial courts, but final appeal to the Imperial Privy Council sustained the province and overruled the federal court, permitting the minority to seek redress from the Canadian government. The Catholic minority, with the French Canadians in the lead, had no option but to appeal to the federal government to restore its rights.

After 1900 and the political demise of Premier Greenway, the provincial government became the instrument of reconciliation between the minority and the province. Outstanding educational problems were ironed out in a piecemeal fashion until a relatively stable situation developed. In rural areas the French were allowed wide latitude in educating their children in public schools though in urban centres, particularly Winnipeg, the provincial government was reluctant to pressure school authorities to integrate French and bilingual schools. From 1900 to 1915, with provincial elections as a guide in the predominantly French ridings, a shift can be detected among the French Catholics away from the Laurier Liberals in Ottawa to the Roblin Conservatives in Manitoba. Joseph Bernier's acceptance of a provincial cabinet post may be regarded as the most significant act of reconciliation between the French minority and the provincial authorities.

The political personality of Franco-Manitobans, however, cannot be definitively categorized during the period of this study. Under Archbishop Langevin there was a perceptible change from outright hostility to a grudging respect for the provincial government. The degree to which Ottawa was a formative influence on this political personality is more difficult to assess. When Prime Minister Laurier was in power from 1896 to 1911, there was a discernible split among the French whether to accept what their compatriots would grant from Ottawa or to rely on themselves under the guidance of the archbishop of St. Boniface. What Ottawa delivered in 1896 was the Laurier-Greenway compromise, which mollified some elements among the minority, not because their rights had been restored, but because the school question had been resolved by a racial compatriot. A large group remained dissatisfied. The political attitude of Franco-Manitobans towards

Ottawa, as illustrated by their voting record in the period examined, is one of ambivalence to say the least.

When Adélard Langevin was consecrated Archbishop of St. Boniface in 1895, the Manitoba school question was already in its fifth turbulent year. The Manitoba Public Schools Act of 1890 was recognized by the Roman Catholics generally and the French in particular as a direct attack on their religion and language, the fundamental elements in the way of life. The issue was whether public funds would support both the English Protestant and the French Catholic ways of life. In 1870 Archbishop Taché had been reluctant to have the Northwest join confederation because "l'élément français catholique serait sacrifié."[2] And in 1897 Archbishop Langevin warned the papal ablegate, Merry del Val: "en ce moment, l'avenir religieux et social de notre cher Canada tout entier se joue en quelque sorte sur la terre manitobaine."[3] The men who made these statements were not alarmists, but realistic appraisers of contemporary events placed in a national perspective. One reason, then, for Langevin's steadfastness was that he recognized the significance of the question, which was sometimes not apparent to most of his contemporaries in French Canada.

In 1898, Langevin re-opened the Manitoba school question at the federal level. Rome reacted by appointing a permanent apostolic delegate to Canada soon thereafter. He immediately vetoed any appeal to the federal government and refused to sanction a nationwide subscription to support Manitoba's parochial schools. With the Conservatives in power in Manitoba after 1899, relations between the provincial government and the Catholic church changed quickly. The Conservatives' victory was unexpected and no influence was exerted by the archbishop to get them elected. Their somewhat anachronistic party platform, which included the restoration of an apolitical board of education, appealed to Langevin and became the bond for future good relations between church and state.

Between Adélard Langevin and Rodmond Roblin, there existed a genuine political partnership. The Premier of Manitoba was a man of principle and a shrewd political manipulator. At times the two characteristics came into conflict and Archbishop Langevin became the victim of political necessity. The premier realized he had an invaluable ally in the archbishop and used him to have Conservatives elected in the predominantly French-speaking ridings. For his services, Langevin received the concessions allowing a Catholic public school system to grow and flourish in the rural areas. This quid pro quo arrangement lasted throughout Langevin's lifetime, but was such an impermanent and incomplete solution that he never ceased pushing the premier for more. Langevin sincerely believed that Roblin was a true and loyal partner to the very end.

After the federal Liberal victory in 1900, Laurier took the initiative to establish a viable Catholic system with public funds in the province but was thwarted by the Roblin administration and the Winnipeg public school board. Just as Laurier argued that he would not infringe on provincial rights in formulating a solution so Roblin similarly argued that he would not override the rights of the Winnipeg public school board to maintain the kind of system it desired. Roblin then primed Langevin to get Laurier to settle the Manitoba school question while the autonomy acts for Alberta and Saskatchewan were before parliament.

But Laurier would not make any decision at the time even though the apostolic delegate pressed him for one. For Langevin it was the right issue at the right time; the social disruption that Laurier feared would be temporary. When Laurier refused to act and the delegate vetoed a collective letter by the bishops, Langevin bitterly resented losing the golden opportunity.

Between 1905 and 1912, two factors contributed to weakening Langevin's position in Manitoba and Canada - the influx of immigrants from Europe and the rift between Irish and French Catholics. Slavic Catholics, particularly Ukrainians, quickly outnumbered the French and Langevin spent considerable money and energy tending to their spiritual and physical needs. The Ukrainians refused the ministrations of Latin-rite priests and had their own bishop appointed in 1912. The Irish Catholics, however, were not content to permit Archbishop Langevin a free hand in running affairs. Challenges to his authority began in 1905 during the debate on the autonomy acts and culminated in vilifying attacks on his leadership in 1910. English-speaking clerics in Britain, Canada, and the United States led the assault and Irish Catholics in Manitoba petitioned for his removal. Langevin had been so successful in establishing multi-lingual schools for immigrants that the Manitoba Department of Education became worried and clamped down on the activities of Catholic inspectors. It seemed to the archbishop that church and state were conspiring to thwart the development of a multi-lingual Catholic community in the Canadian west in order to assure the dominance of the English language.

Laurier's effort to solve the school question after the 1900 federal election failed because of Roblin and the Winnipeg school board. Langevin agreed to have Winnipeg's Catholic schools administered by the public school board on condition that they retain their own Catholic teachers. In spite of this concession, Laurier sought to have the archbishop neutralized and ousted from his see but neither the delegate nor the Vatican was prepared to go that far. Laurier then realized that while the ecclesiastical hierarchy could be manipulated it would not become his servant. During negotiations over the school clauses in the autonomy acts of 1905, Langevin differed with the delegate and one of his suffragans on the extent of the rights which separate schools should have in the two new provinces. While Laurier was aware of this difference of opinion, he recognized that the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Western Canada would settle for nothing less than separate Catholic schools.

What appeared to Langevin to be the next ideal time to settle the school question occurred in 1911. Laurier had been defeated and Conservative regimes held power in both Manitoba and Ottawa. Langevin and Roblin opted for the kind of separate school systems introduced in Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. In Ottawa, however, Prime Minister Borden and Mgr. Stagni, the apostolic delegate, had decided on viable and integral Catholic schools but under a single public board of education. When the bill to extend Manitoba's boundaries was tabled in the Commons it omitted any reference to the school question. Both the archbishop and the delegate were dismayed. What remained was a gentleman's agreement between the premier and the prime minister that a suitable arrangement could be worked out after the bill was passed. Before third reading was given the bill, Langevin had rejected the Manitoba government's settlement as proposed in the Coldwell amendments.

After modifications, certified by Roblin in advance, had been promised in the Coldwell amendments, Langevin reluctantly agreed to accept them. At the same time he tried to hold Roblin to his promise of adopting the Alberta-Saskatchewan separate school system as a minimum, but the premier refused to agree. He judged politically fatal the prospect of introducing school legislation that would increase Catholic rights; some of his own ministers would resign. It seems evident that the archbishop was expecting much more than the actual amendments passed by the legislature. But rather than blame the premier, the archbishop turned his wrath on Roblin's cabinet. The clause that prevented separation of school children during class hours was the principal stumbling block and nothing could be done to break its iron-clad injunction. The Laurier-Greenway compromise was inviolate and the cabinet could not be swayed to change it. In Langevin's mind, the principal villain was Wilfrid Laurier.

Throughout his lifetime Langevin perceived Wilfrid Laurier as the principal obstacle to the realization of his goals. Bad blood developed between them when the archbishop thought he perceived Laurier's strategy to capitalize on the Manitoba school question to become Prime Minister of Canada. Langevin concluded that the religious rights of the minority would be sacrificed on the altar of political expediency. Langevin's standard expletive thereafter when referring to Laurier was "cet homme néfaste." It was Laurier who sanctioned the no-separation clause of the 1896 compromise upon which several rounds of negotiations came to grief. Langevin acknowledged that Laurier was subject to the dictates of his cabinet on the question of Manitoba's schools and that Canada's first French-Canadian Prime Minister could be drummed out of office if he pressed too hard for a solution which the archbishop wanted. But these considerations had to be weighed against the enormous sense of betrayal which Langevin experienced by Laurier's unwillingness to pressure the Manitoba government strongly to restore Roman Catholic rights or to enact federal remedial legislation.

As a concession to the French in Manitoba, in 1913 Joseph Bernier was appointed to the cabinet, the first Canadien in the provincial government since 1890. The various Catholic factions, including the Irish, coalesced into a single unit acknowledging once again the leadership of the Archbishop of St. Boniface. Langevin became estranged from the political infighting that had so long characterized his administration. He could no longer muster sufficient enthusiasm for political machinations and seemed to lose interest in all except the failing fortunes of his good friend, Rodmond Roblin. Langevin was physically and emotionally spent; he could do no more.

When Langevin died there were varying obituaries in the press. He was eulogized in Quebec nationalist and Catholic papers as a French-Canadian hero and martyr. For the Toronto Globe it was a matter of wonder that the archbishop had survived to oppose Laurier after the "compromise" in 1896. In death, the archbishop was a convenient scapegoat to blame for the fall of the Roblin government. However, Langevin's perpetual antagonist, the Manitoba Free Press, maintained a dignified tone of respect for a fallen warrior, a worthy opponent and a strong champion. It treaded softly until the archbishop was safely in his grave.

Langevin was continually at odds with members of the Catholic hierarchy, particularly the apostolic delegates from Rome. Perhaps the archbishop was not fully aware of the role they played at the federal level in attempting to restore Catholic educational rights. One notes that the delegates had serious disagreements with the Laurier government and tried unsuccessfully to pressure the prime minister and members of all parties. The final political goal of unseating the government through a concerted effort by the Catholic hierarchy was virtually unthinkable, especially with a Catholic prime minister in power. But Archbishop Langevin's policy did not preclude such a move if he could muster sufficient influence. The delegates temporized; they played the waiting game, which Langevin understood but by temperament could not accept. The Vatican had to restrain the volatile archbishop, it endeavoured to dampen his sense of outrage; it ordered him to remain silent. With both church and state apparently co-operating at the highest levels to restore religious and linguistic rights, the meagre results suggested perfidy and irresolution for Langevin. When Laurier was defeated in 1911 and negotiations ensued with the Borden government over annexation of Keewatin, the incumbent apostolic delegate assumed a relatively passive stance towards the federal government until the bill was passed. Only then did he release the bishops to act in concert or independently as they wished. The final governmental decision in that instance was made without any reference to the Catholic hierarchy.

To what extent was Archbishop Langevin an ultramontane? If the definition is understood in terms of allegiance to Rome and faithfulness in executing its mandates, then a realistic appraisal of the archbishop can be made. In undertaking that appraisal one is soon faced with several conflicting elements. The archbishop was continually at odds with the several apostolic delegates. One might cite the militant advocacy of constitutional rights aired publicly by the archbishop in contrast to the quiet negotiations undertaken by the delegates. The archbishop travelled to Rome on several occasions to treat directly with the Curia and meet the pope to explain himself, sometimes returning with a letter or a pontifical statement to justify his program. Among the Canadian Catholic episcopate there were times when he stood virtually alone, when they seemed to prefer an end to debate and conflict, shifting responsibility onto the apostolic delegate. Even so, Langevin would not desist. He acquiesced to Affari vos because it promised partial compensation while pressing for full restoration of French Catholic rights. He reluctantly acquiesced to some of the strictures imposed by the delegates on his political activities. A recurring theme throughout his episcopacy was that Rome and Ottawa were in accord on de-emphasizing the Manitoba school question. Rome made it rather difficult for Archbishop Langevin to have ultramontane sympathies.

The archbishop was not intemperate by nature. His natural enthusiasm was circumscribed by his responsibilities as a bishop. Indeed the two at times came into conflict and the man got the better part of the cleric. He was widely admired and widely despised: his presence demanded a response that left few individuals tepid. He became the hero and martyr that he felt his people needed to lead them during the trying times of the 1890s. When Henri Bourassa characterized him as "le grand blessé de l'ouest" in 1910, Langevin epitomized the denigration that French Canadians were suffering at the moment. Like Papineau and Riel, he was a flawed hero who could not command the undivided loyalty of the French, but who was accorded the adulation of the populace because he stood as a symbol against the oppression they felt. By 1910 the archbishop was revered for his stand as a French Canadian but not for his services to the Catholic church, wherein he had antagonized too many with his resolute stand on the school question. English Catholic animosity towards him only enhanced his stature in some French-Canadian eyes. His eternal "non possumus" found resonance in the French-Canadian spirit when it became evident that outside of Quebec compromise left the French weaker vis-à-vis the dominant English majority. "Survivance" and self-reliance became French watchwords after 1916.

While French Canadians perceived the archbishop pre-eminently in his secular French role, Langevin's self-appraisal was largely in his religious role as spiritual pastor and guide of his flock. Religious and moral formation was the school's proper task alongside its secular responsibilities to the state. As bishop he could and did command obedience literally in virtue of his episcopal right to guide souls for their salvation. In his diocese he anathematized the outstanding heresies of the day, principally Liberalism, and expected

Catholics to listen and obey. He drove himself hard with numerous and extensive travels in America and Europe primarily on ecclesiastical affairs - searching, negotiating, cojolling, and generally moving people to act on behalf of religious goals. Unlike other bishops (one recalls Emard, Bruchési, Legal), he stood his ground regardless of consequences. Virtually in isolation, but leading his suffragans in Western Canada, he restored a modicum of Catholic education in Manitoba. It might legitimately be asked whether separate school rights would have been granted in 1905 to Alberta and Saskatchewan had the archbishop not provoked such opposition to the 1896 compromise. Certainly in Manitoba to 1916, and perhaps in the other two prairie provinces after 1905, Langevin had succeeded in assuring a Catholic presence in Western Canada that has lasted to the present day. He became an unpopular prelate in the Canadian ecclesiastical hierarchy for his methods, not for his success.

In the dispute between the church and state over control of the schools, the province of Manitoba had the upper hand consistently and disbursed "privileges" to the religious minority. The school conflict was one of several issues in dispute between the two sovereignties, spiritual and temporal, but schools were considered essential to both for their own purposes. A legal compromise regarding schools had been struck among the signatories to the confederation of Canada in 1867, and Manitoba, as the first province to enter that union, was in a sense a test case of the application of the law. The outcome would affect future expansion of the Dominion and for this reason the Manitoba school question acquired added importance. Church influence was tied to linguistic acceptance of the minority in the new province and in future provinces across Canada. With a firm base, resting on a Catholic episcopate that was wholly French-speaking, a solid foundation for church influence throughout the west had been established prior to 1890. Maintaining the hegemony was a dominant theme for Langevin.

In concert with his suffragans, Archbishop Langevin would have standardized Catholic education across Western Canada in 1909 on the basis of the 1905 separate school system instituted in Alberta and Saskatchewan. For the bishops, the school was the instrument of a complete education and its integrity had to be defended by the highest ecclesiastical authority. As an instrument of ethnic preservation in a land that was becoming ethnically mixed but predominantly English-speaking, the school had the added role of affirming the institutional existence of the "French fact" in the west and therefore elicited strenuous measures by the archbishop to ensure that the right men were chosen by Rome to vacant and newly created ecclesiastical sees. In 1912, when Mgr. McNally was consecrated in Calgary, this program broke down. It is significant to note that one of Bishop McNally's first acts was to cancel plans for a French bilingual school in that city. The accession of an English prelate, and, to a far lesser degree, Mgr. Budka's arrival to minister to the Ukrainians were contributing factors to the demise of the French institutional presence and the recognition by the French that Quebec was their "reserve."

Trying to forestall the inevitable, Langevin attempted to maintain a solid front of French-Canadian bishops in Western Canada. He lobbied in Canada and Rome for French-speaking prelates and succeeded with his policy until 1912. Langevin perhaps felt that the episcopate was the final bulwark to preserve the French language and, therefore, the Catholic faith in the prairies. Because he sincerely believed, albeit mistakenly, that anglicization inevitably resulted in loss of faith, French Catholic leadership of the highest order from the episcopate would safeguard the deposit of faith among French Canadians. This strategy was meaningful for the French but not for the English-speaking elements in his archdiocese. In Quebec, leadership in education had been assumed by the episcopate and it was taken for granted by Langevin that an identical role for bishops was appropriate in Manitoba and the west. With immigration to the west of Catholics from various countries the ethnic foundations upon which Langevin's policy relied melted away. Langevin was unrealistic to expect Rome to keep appointing French-Canadian prelates under these circumstances but he persisted nevertheless. In appointing bishops of various ethnic backgrounds, however, Rome weakened the most formidable agency supporting the French presence and indirectly contributed towards the isolation of the French Canadians in Quebec. While to both Langevin and Rome the religious interests of the Catholic minorities were uppermost, Langevin's strategy would have eventually alienated all but the French Catholics. To manipulate ecclesiastical appointments for the benefit of a single ethnic group in a multi-cultural society, such as was being formed in the Canadian west, could not be countenanced by Rome. Langevin must have known that he would eventually fail to have his way with new appointments and should have been less persistent. The state had decreed its school policy and the church had little choice but to change the ethnic composition of its hierarchy.

During his episcopate, Archbishop Langevin sought to impose the civilizing order of church and school on a nascent Western Canadian society. His program of Canadianization rejected anglicization as a model for the new land and instead he promoted a multi-cultural, multi-lingual identity for the immigrants. In this nascent society he endeavoured to preserve a special place for the French, to perpetuate what they had already established. To do so, he vigorously opposed the claims of civil society to exclusive jurisdiction over the education of youth. With single-minded determination he organized a Catholic and multi-ethnic educational system through laymen working within the provincial Department of Education. To maintain and develop the system he challenged both civil and ecclesiastical authorities that attempted to block or sidetrack him from his goal. Adélard Langevin tried to demonstrate to the national consciousness that there was a distinctive place for Canadiens in Western Canada.

1. G. F. G. Stanley, "French Settlement West of Lake Superior," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (June 1954), 114.

2. *Ibid.*, 110.

3. Langevin papers, (...), Langevin to Mgr. Raphael Merry del Val, [n.d.], 1897.

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Ottawa Citizen

Telegram (Winnipeg)

The Globe (Toronto)

The Tablet (London)

The Tribune (Winnipeg)

The World (Toronto)

E. Interviews

Rev. S. Baderski, O.M.I.

Rev. A. Sylla, O.M.I.

APPENDIX A

[The Laurier-Greenway Compromise]

An Act to amend "The Public Schools Act"
Cap. 26 60 Vic.

[Assented to 30th March, 1897.]

Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, enacts as follows: -

1. Religious teaching, to be conducted as hereinafter provided, shall take place in any public school in Manitoba;

(a) If authorized by a resolution passed by the majority of the school trustees of the district in which the school is carried on, or,

(b) If a petition be presented to said school trustees asking for religious teaching and signed by the parents or guardians of at least ten children attending the school in the case of a rural school district, or by the parents or guardians of at least twenty-five children attending the school in the case of a city, town or village school.

2. Such religious teaching shall take place between the hours of 3:30 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and shall be conducted by any Christian clergyman whose charge includes any portion of the school district, or by any person duly authorized by such clergyman, or by a teacher when so authorized.

3. Where so specified in such resolution of trustees, or where so required by a petition of parents or guardians, religious teaching during the prescribed period may take place only on certain specified days of the week instead of on every teaching day.

4. In any school in towns and cities, where the average attendance of Roman Catholic children is forty or upwards, and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is twenty-five or upwards, the trustees shall, if required by a petition of parents or guardians of such number of Roman Catholic children, respectively, employ at least one duly certificated Roman Catholic teacher in such school. In any school in towns and cities where the average attendance of non-Roman Catholic children is forty or upwards, and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is twenty-five or upwards, the trustees shall, if required by the petition of parents or guardians of such children, employ at least one duly certificated non-Roman Catholic teacher.

5. Where religious teaching is required to be carried on in any school in pursuance of the foregoing provisions and there are Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic children attending the school, and the school room accommodation does not permit of the pupils being placed in separate rooms for the purpose of religious teaching, provision shall be made by the regulations of the Department of Education (which regulations the board of school trustees shall observe), whereby the time allotted for religious teaching shall be divided in such a way that the religious teaching of Roman Catholic children shall be carried on during the prescribed period on one-half of the teaching days in each month, and the religious teaching of the non-Roman Catholic children shall be carried on during the prescribed period on one-half of the teaching days of each month.

6. The Department of Education shall have the power to make regulations not inconsistent with the principles of this Act, for carrying into effect the provisions of this Act.

7. No separation of pupils by religious denominations shall take place during the secular school work.

8. Where the school-room accommodation at the disposal of the trustees permits, instead of allotting different days of the week to different denominations for the purpose of religious teaching, the pupils may be separated when the hour for religious teaching arrives, and placed in separate rooms.

9. No pupil shall be permitted to be present at any religious teaching unless the parents or guardians of such pupil desire it. In case the parents or guardians do not desire the attendance of pupils during such religious teaching, then such pupils shall be dismissed before the religious exercises are begun, or shall remain in another room.

10. When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language, or any language other than English, as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bi-lingual system.

11. All the provisions of "The Public Schools Act" and amendments and of "The Education Department Act" inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, are hereby repealed.

12. This Act shall come into force on the first day of August, A.D. 1897.

APPENDIX B

Origins of the People - City of Winnipeg
1881 - 1921[1]

	1881		1891		1901		1911		1921	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
English	2,332	29.2			14,559	34.5	42,408	31.2	58,321	32.6
Irish	1,864	23.4			7,324	17.3	15,432	11.4	23,315	13.0
Scotch	2,470	30.9			9,190	21.7	25,789	19.0	37,069	20.7
Other British	13	.2			157	.4	923	.7	1,864	1.0
French	450	5.6			1,379	3.3	2,695	2.0	3,944	2.2
German	186	2.3			2,283	5.4	8,912	6.6	4,762	2.7
Austro-Hungarian	---	---			1,147	2.7	6,072	4.5	6,785	3.8
Chinese - Japanese	2	.1			121	.3	586	.4	849	.5
Dutch	5	.1			92	.2	535	.4	1,236	.7
Indian - Metis	9	.1			142	.3	30	.1	44	.1
Italian	26	.3			147	.4	769	.6	1,311	.7
Jewish	4	.1			1,156	2.7	9,023	6.6	14,449	8.1
Negro	4	.1			44	.1	165	.1	424	.2
Russian	6	.1			624	1.5	1,558	1.1	3,791	2.1
Polish	---	---			---	---	4,743	3.5	5,696	3.2
Ukrainian	---	---			---	---	900	.7	6,381	3.6
Scandian-vian - Icelandic	409	5.1			3,322	7.9	4,956	3.6	6,217	3.5
Swiss	3	.1			35	.1	114	.1	278	.2
Various	13	.2			139	.3	1,607	1.1	1,585	.9
Unspecified	189	2.4			479	1.1	8,818	6.5	422	.2
Totals	7,985	100%			42,340	100%	136,035	100%	179,087	100%

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1. Quoted in M.K. Mott "The 'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-1923" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970). Compilations from Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Censuses of Canada, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921. For years 1881, 1891, 1901, Ukrainians are included in Austria-Hungary category.

APPENDIX C

The 1905 Proclamation annexing the District of Keewatin to the North-west Territories[1]

Whereas it is, in and by the Act, chapter fifty-three of the Revised Statutes of Canada, commonly known as "The Keewatin Act," amongst other things, in effect enacted, that Our Governor in Council may, by proclamation published in the *Canada Gazette*, at any time when it appears to the public advantage so to do, detach any portion of the District of Keewatin there-from and re-annex it to the part of the North-west Territories of Canada not included in the said District, and that the portion so detached shall then be subject to the same government and laws as that part of the North-west Territories of Canada to which it is re-annexed.

AND WHEREAS it has become expedient that the said District of Keewatin should be again annexed to and made subject to the same government and laws as the North-west Territories, -

NOW THEREFORE KNOW YE that by and with the advice of Our Privy Council of Canada, and under and byvirtue of the powers by the said in part recited Act, and of all and every powers and power in that behalf in any manner otherwise in Us vested, We do by these presents proclaim and declare that on, from and after the first day of September in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and five the whole of the said District of Keewatin shall be annexed to that part of the North-west Territories not included in the said District.

[1] *The Canada Gazette*, Ottawa, August 19, 1905.

APPENDIX D

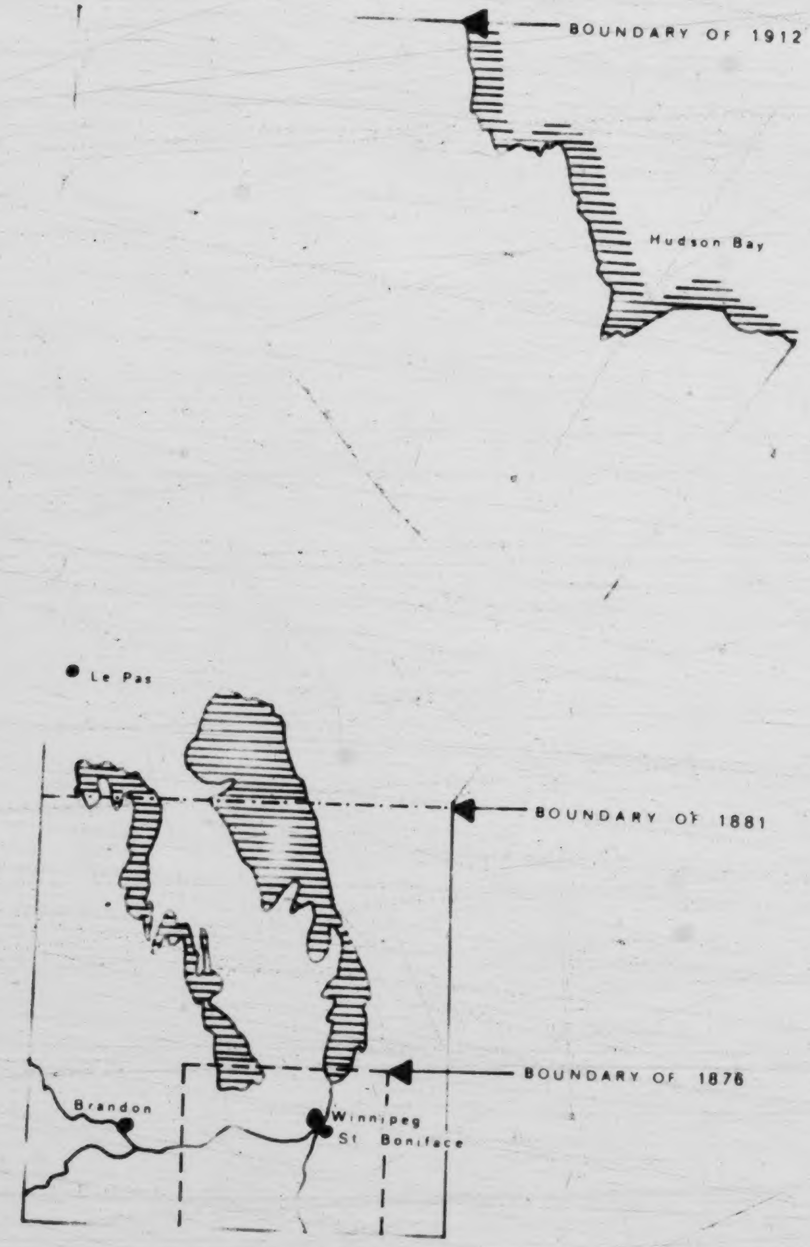
Alternative "A"

Public School Act, Manitoba, Chapter 143, Revised Statutes

Amend the above act by striking out section 218 and substitute the following as section 218.

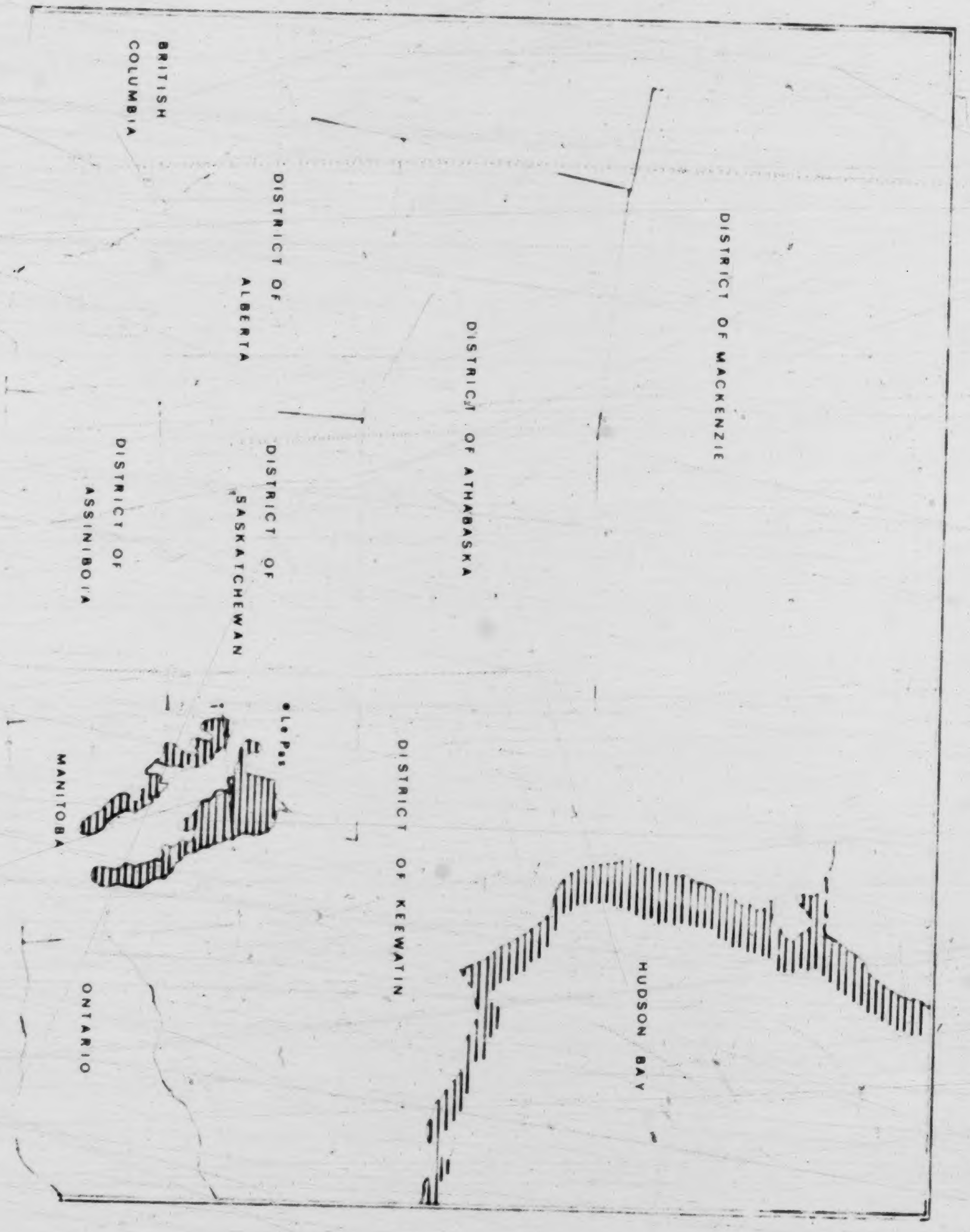
218. In towns and cities where the average attendance of Roman Catholic school children is forty or upwards, and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is twenty five or upwards, the trustees shall, if required by a petition of parents or guardians of such number of Roman Catholic children, respectively provide proper and suitable school house accommodation for such children and employ for them duly certificated Roman Catholic teachers in such schools.

In towns and cities where the average attendance of non-Roman Catholic school children is forty or upwards, and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is twenty five or upwards, the trustees shall, if required by a petition of parents or guardians of such number of non-Roman Catholic children, respectively, provide proper and suitable school house accommodation for such children and employ for them duly certificated non-Roman Catholic teachers in such schools.


BOUNDARY OF 1912
Hudson Bay
Le Pas
BOUNDARY OF 1881
BOUNDARY OF 1876
Brandon
Winnipeg
St Boniface

BOUNDARIES OF MANITOBA

Adapted from M S Donnelly, *The Government of Manitoba*
(Toronto University of Toronto Press, 1963), 28


BRITISH COLUMBIA
DISTRICT OF ALBERTA
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DISTRICT OF ASSINIBOIA
DISTRICT OF SASKATCHEWAN
DISTRICT OF ATHABASKA
DISTRICT OF MACKENZIE
Le Pas
MANITOBA
DISTRICT OF KEEWATIN
ONTARIO
HUDSON BAY

MANITOBA AND THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES 1898

Adapted from D. G. Kerr (ed.), *A Historical Atlas of Canada.* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Limited, 1960), 67.